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DESCRIPTION

OF THE

# PROVINCE OF FARS IN PERSIA

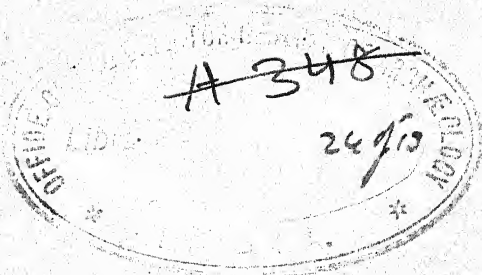
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH  
CENTURY A.D.

FROM THE MS. OF IBN AL-BALKHI IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

19972

BY

G. LE STRANGE



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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

	PAGES
Introduction—Hamd-Allah and Ibn-al-Balkhī— The Historical Section of the <i>Fārs Nāmah</i> — Buyids and Saljūqs—The five <i>Shabānkārah</i> Tribes—The five Kurdish Ramms—The Chief Justices of Fārs—The Geographical Section— The Province of Fārs and its five Kūrahs— Māh Kūfah and Māh Baṣrah—The <i>Iṣṭakhr</i> District—Persepolis—The Three Castles—The Palace of Jamshīd—The Marvdasht Plain	1-30

## CHAPTER II

The Dārābjird District — Bitumen Springs — Pharaoh's Cup — Jahram Blankets — Juwaym Muslin — The Ardashir <i>Khūrah</i> District — <i>Shīrāz</i> —The Gird Fanā <i>Khusrū</i> Suburb—The Castle of Pahan-Diz— <i>Sīrāf</i> and the Amirs of Qays Island— <i>Firūzābād</i> and the Engineer <i>Burāzah</i> —His Tunnel—The Palms of <i>Irāhistān</i> —The <i>Shāpūr Khūrah</i> District — <i>Bishāvūr</i> City—The Millstones of <i>Khullār</i> — <i>Kāzīrūn</i> and its Cloths—The Vale of <i>Shā'b Bavvān</i>	31-59
---	-------

## CHAPTER III

The Qubād <i>Khūrah</i> District — Arrajān — The <i>Thakān</i> Bridge—The Habits of <i>Rīshahr</i> Folk— Stinking Jannābā—The Port of <i>Mahrūbān</i> — The Rivers of Fārs—Seas and Lakes—The Meadow-lands—The Castles—The Itineraries— The Revenues of Fārs	61-85
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# DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FARS IN PERSIA

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

IN the Journal for the year 1902 a summary was given of the description of Persia and Mesopotamia found in the *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, a geographical and cosmographical work written by Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi in 740 (1340).<sup>1</sup> In the course of next year I hope to publish (in the series of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund) the Persian text of the geographical chapters of this work, and this will be followed by a full translation, with notes to elucidate geographical questions. Ḥamd-Allah, who is our earliest systematic geographer writing in Persian, collected his materials from the works of the earlier Arab geographers, and from various Persian monographs which had been written each to describe a single province of the Moslem Empire; and it is found that the texts of

<sup>1</sup> Published also separately in the Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. v. The map drawn to accompany this paper will serve to illustrate Ibn al-Balkhī.

some of these monographs, thereto adding somewhat of his own knowledge, after much curtailment and a rearrangement of the order in the articles, he has transcribed almost verbatim, to form the various chapters of the *Nuzhat*. A good instance of this method of writing a new book is the chapter describing the provinces of Fārs and Shabānkārah, which in truth is little but a shortened transcript of the *Fārs Nāmāh*, a work written two centuries before the time of Hamd-Allah, and of which the British Museum possesses an excellent MS.

The name of the author of this *Fārs Nāmāh* is as yet unknown, but he states in his preface that his ancestor was a native of Balkh, and Ibn-al-Balkhī will serve as a convenient title by which to refer to him until his identity be better established. From the MS. all that appears is that the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhī (twice mentioned, fols. 2b and 63a) was Mustawfi, or Accountant for the Taxes, of Fārs about the year (4)92 under the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagīn, who had been sent to govern that province in the name of the Saljūq Sultan Bargiyāruq — 487–98 (1094–1104) — the son of Malik Shāh. Ibn-al-Balkhī, who accompanied his grandfather, was educated in Fārs, and becoming well acquainted with the physical and political condition of the country, was in due course of time commissioned by the brother and successor of Bargiyāruq, namely, Sultān Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, 498–511 (1104–17), to compose the present work. No exact date for its completion is given, but since the book was dedicated to this Sultan, who died in 511, and further that the Atabeg Chāuli is frequently mentioned in the text as still living, who we know died in 510 (1116), it follows that this *Fārs Nāmāh* must have been completed during the first decade of the sixth century A.H., equivalent to the twelfth A.D.

Two MSS. only of the work appear to exist in Europe. One a very old copy in the British Museum (Or. 5983),

apparently undated,<sup>1</sup> but by the writing and archaic spelling judged to be not later than the early fourteenth century (eighth A.H.). The other clearly a copy made of this MS., which belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and came there from the Schéfer Collection (Blochet *Cat. MSS. Persans*, i, p. 309, No. 503, and Supplément, 1052), and which was written in 1273 (1856). The Paris copy is indeed of little use except to show how a Persian of the present day read the older MS., and as occasionally giving us a word that has disappeared, partially or wholly, in the mending process to which the B.M. MS. was subjected when it came a few years ago, after presentation in loose leaves, to be bound for the Museum use. In some outstanding cases where lacunæ occur I have been able to fill these in by a reference to the Geography of Hāfiz Abrū, the Secretary of Timur—of which the India Office and the Museum (Or. 1577) both possess good copies—who has copied most of the *Fārs Nāmāh* into the work he composed in 820 (1417). Further, of course, the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* very often serve to emend a reading.

The Museum MS. is written for the most part in double columns, a complicated system, which has led to the modern (Paris) copy having the articles very often transcribed out of order, through the carelessness of the copyist, who thus has given many towns (under their separate headings) to the wrong District (*Kūrah*). In the longer articles, however, the scribe of the Museum MS. has written across the page (i.e. in single column), and the order of this copy will be best understood by a reference to the following footnote.<sup>2</sup> The Persian text is in the

<sup>1</sup> Faintly written, and much disfigured by the mending, there is a colophon on fol. 90b which may possibly read: "and the transcription thereof was completed in the year 671" (A.D. 1271).

<sup>2</sup> If R. and L. be taken to indicate the right and left hand columns respectively, *a* and *b* standing for *recto* and *verso* of the folios, the Ištākhr District begins with the R. column fol. 65a, following on with the R. columns of fols. 65b, 66a and b, then back to L. column of

B.M. MS. somewhat archaic, and in the spelling retains the older forms of *kī* for *kih*, *ānk*, and *chunānk*, for the modern *ānkih* and *chunānkih*. Further, we meet with a small number of words, mostly technical terms of revenue assessment, that are often wanting in the dictionaries, but the general meaning of which it is not difficult to come to from the context.

The Museum MS. at present consists of ninety folios. Fol. 1*a* begins with a short preface, followed by the dedication, fol. 2*a*, to "the Sultān—King of kings—whose glory shall never cease to increase, *Ghiyāth-ad-Dunyā wa-d-Dīn* Abū *Shujā'* Muḥammad son of Malik *Shāh*", who further is given the title of *Qasīm-i-Amīr-al-Mūminīn*, "the Associate (in the government) of the Caliph." The author then relates how his august master commissioned him to write the present work, "seeing that I had been brought up in Fārs, although by lineage descended from a native of *Balkh* . . . and knowing that I was well acquainted with the present condition of the people of Fārs . . . being well versed also in the events of their history, and exactly acquainted with the story of their kings and rulers, even from the days of Kayūmarth down to this present time." Then on fol. 3*a*, after a summary description of the province, and citing a few of the chief Traditions about Fārs ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad, we start with the long line of the early Persian kings, whose history, much in epitome, closes with the last of the Sassanians and the rise of Islam, on fol. 60*a*. This part of the work is merely a Persian version of *Hamzah Isfahānī*, and contains, apparently, nothing new. Next very briefly the story of the Arab conquest of Fārs is

fol. 65*a*, followed by fols. 65*b* L., 66*a* L. and *b* L. Next, on 66*b* below, the MS. reads across for *Istakhr* City, fols. 67*a* and *b* and the top of 68*a* being all in one column. After this, again, 68*a* below goes back to the double column, the next article beginning 68*a* R., followed by 68*b* R., then back to 68*a* L. and 68*b* L., which gives the last town of the district.

narrated, ending with the reign of the Caliph 'Ali. Here follows an interesting account, fol. 62*a*, of the Qādīs—chief justices—of Fārs, to which we shall return later, and then, fol. 63*b*, the Geographical Part (translated below) begins, concluding with the Itineraries, fol. 83*b*. The author afterwards returns, fol. 87*a*, to the history of Fārs, giving an account of the Shabānkārah tribes and the Kurds, and this narrating details of almost contemporary history is of importance, as facts and personages are mentioned not noted, apparently, elsewhere. A summary follows of the revenues of Fārs down to the time of the writer, and some of this too is new matter, for the author, as already said, was of a family of accountants, and wrote from first-hand knowledge. And, finally, fol. 90*b*, the MS. closes with a short note describing the days of the last Buyid rulers of Fārs, and the advent of the Saljūq Sultans.

In the following pages a complete translation will be given of the Geographical Part, but before coming to this it will be useful to summarize what our author has narrated about personages and events immediately preceding his own time, and more especially the account he gives of the Kurdish tribes and of the Shabānkārah, who, at a later date, gave their name to the eastern part of the Fārs province round Dārābjird. The reader will recall to mind how about the middle of the fourth (tenth) century, namely, a century and a half before the time of our author, the Buyids, under 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, from 338-72 (949-82) had been at the height of greatness: by the middle of the following century, however, this dynasty had collapsed before the rising power of the Saljūqs. Tugh̄rul Beg, the founder of the new dynasty, on his death in 455 (1063), had left as heir his nephew Alp Arslān, whose brother, Qāvurd, had already, during the lifetime of Tugh̄rul Beg, been put in possession of the government of some of the Eastern provinces, he thus ruling the most part of Persia

under his uncle and brother from 433 (1041) down to the date of his death in 465 (1072). Alp Arslān was succeeded as Great Saljūq by his son, Malik Shāh, 465-85 (1072-92), whose Wazīr was the famous Nizām-al-Mulk. Four of the sons of Malik Shāh in succession came to the throne, of whom, however, two only concern us here, and these have both been mentioned before, namely, the eldest, Bargiyāruq, 487-98 (1094-1104), in whose reign the grandfather of our author served as Revenue Accountant in Fārs; and Sultān Ghiyāth - ad - Dīn Muḥammad, his brother, 498-511 (1104-17), the patron of Ibn-al-Balkhī, and the prince to whom he dedicates his book. After the overthrow of the Buyids these Saljūq Sultans who ruled in their stead were wont to send their Atabegs, originally the *Governors* of their sons, to govern the outlying provinces, and the first of these, in Fārs, was the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagīn, under whom the grandfather of Ibn-al-Balkhī, as already stated, had served. The next Atabeg was Fakhr-ad-Dīn Chāuli (or Jāuli in the Arab chronicles), who was still living when our author wrote.<sup>1</sup> This Chāuli was famous for his many great buildings, and further, he had after much fighting succeeded in restoring order throughout Fārs by curbing the power of the Shabānkārah and subduing the various affiliated Kurdish tribes.

<sup>1</sup> The exact dates of appointment of these two Atabegs, who are specifically noticed by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, are not given by our authorities. Ibn-al-Athīr, however, states that Chāuli died in 510 (1116), and he reports him in Fārs as early as the year 493 (1099). This must have been the year of, or the year following, his appointment, for Ibn-al-Balkhī mentions Khumārtagīn as in Fārs in 492 (1098), and this probably was the year of his death. Ibn-al-Athīr names Khumārtagīn more than once in his chronicle from the years 450 (1058) to 485 (1092), but never with the title of Rukn-ad-Dawlah. He is called Najm-ad-Dawlah, surnamed Aṭ-Tuḡhrāyī, and Ash-Sharābī (the Cupbearer); then he is referred to under the name of Khumārtagīn an-Nāib (the Lieutenant), who was Police Magistrate (Shahnah) of Baghdād in 482 (1089). Further, at about the same time there is mentioned Khumārtagīn-at-Tutushī, but possibly this is a different person.

This much of the general history of the fifth century (eleventh A.D.) being premised, we come to what Ibn-al-Balkhī himself relates, which is the more valuable as being the almost contemporary history of the author's own time. The last of the Buyids to exercise any real sovereignty in Fārs was (he says) Bākālījār or Bākālīnjār (for the name is given under both forms in the B.M. MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah*), otherwise Abū Kālījār or Abū Kālīnjār. In regard to the proper spelling of his name, it is to be remarked that in the Arab chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr it is given as Abū Kālījār, while in the MS. of the *Zīj-as-Sanjari* in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (likewise in Arabic) the name is clearly written as Abū Kālīzār. On the other hand, Hāfiz Abrū always writes Bā or Abū Kālīnjār, and this is the modern spelling (e.g. in the *Fārs Nāmah Nāṣiri*). The original meaning of the name is apparently unknown, but from its form it would seem to have been a nickname. The *Fārs Nāmah*, unfortunately, does not state who was the father of Bākālījār. The Persian historians and Ibn-al-Athīr, however, agree in the statement that he was the son of Sulṭān-ad-Dawlah, son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah, and hence the great grandson of 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah.<sup>2</sup> The *Guzīdah* (p. 432)

<sup>1</sup> Or. 6669, consisting of astronomical and chronological tables, written by Abū Mansūr al-Khāzinī for Sulṭān Sanjar (son of Malik Shāh), who died 552 (1157). The B.M. MS. appears to be a copy of the Autograph, and was written in 620 (1223). The folios are loose, and have not yet been set in order or numbered, but the one giving a table of the Buyid dynasty will easily be recognized, for it bears the heading *Jadwalu Mulūki alī Buwayhī min ad-Dayālamati bi-l-'Irāqī*. Abū Kālīnjār is the spelling in the *Guzīdah* (Gibb, Facsimile, p. 416) and in the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyār* (Bombay Lithograph, ii, pt. 4, p. 55), both these histories being written in Persian. Among previous Buyid princes Šamšām-ad-Dawlah (son of 'Aḍud) had also borne the name of Abū Kālīzār, and this spelling with the long ī in the second syllable is probably the one we should adopt. See also the note by Mr. Amedroz in JRAS., 1911, p. 672.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the *Zīj*, which it will be remembered was written only a century after the death of Bākālīzār (Abū Kālīzār), gives a different account from that found in these later authorities. It is here stated that Abū Kālīzār al-Marzubān, surnamed 'Izz-al-Mulūk, was the



followed by the *Ḥabīb-as-Siyār* (ii, pt. 4, p. 55) gives Bākālījār the titles of 'Izz-al-Mulūk and 'Imād-li-Dīn Allah, the latter authority also adding the third title of Ḥisām-ad-Dawlah. Ibn-al-Balkhī, however, makes no mention of these honorary names (fol. 90b), and gives no dates. Our other authorities say this prince reigned from 415 to 440 (1024 to 1048), and at his death he left five sons. The eldest, to whom our author gives the name of Abū Naṣr, died soon after his father, being succeeded by his brother, called Abū Maṣṣūr, whose government was thrown into disorder by the meddling of his mother *Khurāsūyah*, a political busybody, who in the *Zīj* is referred to under the title of As-Sayyidah—"the Lady". Abū Maṣṣūr at first had governed according to the advice of his Wazīr, called the Ṣāhib 'Ādil (he had served Bākālījār, according to the *Ḥabīb*, in the same capacity), a man of mark who, Ibn-al-Balkhī writes, had given a fine library to the town of Firūzābād; but instigated by his mother, Abū Maṣṣūr put this Wazīr and his son to death, after which confusion became worse confounded throughout Fārs. Matters finally reached a crisis by the revolt of Faḍlūyah, the *Shabānkārah* chief, who managed to get the Lady *Khurāsūyah* into his power, and then shutting her up in a waterless hot-bath, suffocated her. Next Abū Maṣṣūr was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castle of Pahan Diz (near *Shirāz*), where before long he too met his death, and Fārs passed to the government of Faḍlūyah, and under the overlordship of the Saljūqs.<sup>1</sup>

son of Sultān-ad-Dawlah, and that he left no descendants. It was his uncle, Jalāl-ad-Dawlah Abū Tāhir Shir Zayd (brother of Sultān-ad-Dawlah and son of Bahā-ad-Dawlah), who was the father of the five last Buyid princes.

<sup>1</sup> Of Bākālījār's five sons Ibn-al-Balkhī (fol. 90b) only gives the names of two, Abū Naṣr, the eldest, and Malik Abū Maṣṣūr, the last of the Buyids. The *Zīj*, however, gives their names as follows. The eldest, Abū Naṣr of Ibn-al-Balkhī, is presumably the one the *Zīj* calls Amīr-al-Umrā Abū Shujā', and the last Buyid prince is named in the *Zīj* Al-Malik-al-'Azīz, Al-Malik-ar-Raḥīm, Abū Maṣṣūr Khusrūh Firūz. The



The *Guzīdah*, however, adds that after the death of this Abū Mansūr in 448 (1056) his brother, Al-Malik Abū 'Alī, was given, during nearly forty years, nominal rank by the Saljūq Sultans, being allowed the privileges of the Kettledrum and Banner (*Tabl wa-'Alam*) until the date of his death in 487 (1094) in the reign of Sultān Bargiyāruq.

Ibn-al-Balkhī gives at some length (fols. 87*a* to 88*b*) the history of Faḍlūyah and his *Shabānkārah* tribesmen, with details of their descent and doings that apparently are not to be found in the accounts of other historians. The men of the *Shabānkārah* tribe (he writes) had originally been herdsmen in Fārs, until, with the progressive disorganization of the Buyid rule in the latter days, the Kurds had become a power in the land. At this time, according to our author, the *Shabānkārah* were divided among five tribes, namely, the Ismā'īlī, the Rāmānī, the Karzuvi, the Mas'ūdī, and the *Shakānī*. Of these, the Ismā'īlī were the noblest in descent, but the most important tribe was that of the Rāmānī (or Rāhānī, as the MS. may be read), of which Faḍlūyah<sup>1</sup> was chief. He inherited this dignity from his father 'Alī (ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb), and had in early youth, when only a neatherd, taken service under the Ṣālib 'Ādil, the Wazīr of the last Buyid prince, becoming a great warrior, and rising to command the army in Fārs. The fate of this Wazīr, and the subsequent imprisonment and death of this Buyid prince and his mother, have been narrated above, the outcome of which events being that Faḍlūyah found himself before long the virtual master of Fārs. The Saljūqs, however, had now become the ruling power in the Caliphate, and Qāvurd, brother of the reigning Sultan

three remaining sons were Al-Amīr Abū-l-Fawāris *Khurshāh*, then Al-Amīr Abū Dāmāh Rustam, and lastly Al-Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Hāfiẓ Abrū names the last Buyid Malik-ar-Raḥīm Abū Naṣr, instead of Abū Mansūr, as given by Ibn-al-Balkhī.

<sup>1</sup> Hāfiẓ Abrū sometimes writes the name Faḍlūn, and this is the spelling given in Ibn-al-Athīr.

Alp Arslān, was sent into Fārs to bring that province to due order. Faḍlūyah, finding that matters were going against him, submitted, presented himself at the Court of Alp Arslān, and was thereupon re-established as deputy-governor of the province. He, however, had not yet learnt wisdom, for once more seeking to be independent, he revolted. The celebrated Nizām-al-Mulk, the Wazīr of Alp Arslān, thereupon besieged him, taking him prisoner in the Castle of Diz Khurshah, where he had sought refuge. From here he was sent to the castle of Iṣṭakhr, but managing in time to corrupt his guards, got this stronghold into his own hands. Sultan Alp Arslān on this lost patience, Faḍlūyah was hunted down and caught, and to avoid further trouble, after being put to death, his skin was stuffed with straw as a manifest warning to his neighbours.<sup>1</sup> Fārs, after the death of Faḍlūyah, was put under the rule of the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumār-tagīn, the patron of our author's grandfather, as already narrated, but Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that in his day some of the Rāmānī still were to be found living under a chief called Ibrāhīm ibn Razmān, also under a certain Mahamat, son of Abū Naṣr ibn Malāk, whose name was Shaybān.

According to Ibn-al-Balkhī, the noble tribe of the Ismā'īlī Shabānkārah were descended from Minūchahr, grandson of the celebrated Farīdūn, an ancient and mythical king of Persia, and the chiefs of the Ismā'īlī had aforetime been Ispahbads, or sub-kings, under the Sassanians. After the Arab conquest their tribe was settled in the Dasht Urd meadowlands, and in this neighbourhood remained, till the coming into those parts of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, some time between 421 and 432 (1030 and 1040). His general Nāsh Farrāsh,<sup>2</sup> finding the Ismā'īlī tribe in possession of

<sup>1</sup> See also Ibn-al-Athīr, x, 48. These events apparently took place in the year 464 (1071).

<sup>2</sup> Tāsh Farrāsh is probably the true reading of the name; see Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 267, 289.

Isfahān, expelled them, causing them to migrate south to the lands round Kamah and Fārūq. The Buyids having reason to object to their presence here, they next wandered westward and ultimately settled round Dārābjird, where, in the times of Bākālījār, they were ruled by two brothers, Muḥammad and Namrad, the sons of Yahyā. The descendants of these two brothers, of course, quarrelled as to who should be chief of the tribe. Muḥammad had left two sons, Bayān and Salk, the latter again leaving a son called Ḥasūyah, while Namrad had a son called Mamā, who became the father of Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā. The first chief of the clan had been Muḥammad, the elder brother of Namrad; and he, our author states, in sign of his rank "was wont to strike (the Kettledrum) five times, the same becoming a custom among these people almost down to the present time, but which has now been forbidden by the Atabeg Chāuli" (successor in Fārs of the Atabeg Khumārtagīn). On the death of this Muḥammad the elder son Bayān succeeded, but was put to death by his uncle Namrad, who seized on the chiefship of the tribe, establishing himself in Dārābjird. Salk, Bayān's younger brother, thereupon called in the aid of Faḍlūyah, at this time ruling supreme throughout Fārs, as described above. Faḍlūyah re-established Salk in the chiefship, routed (and presumably killed) Namrad, and at the date when our author wrote, Ḥasūyah, son of Salk, was chief in his father's room, governing the towns of Ij, Fustajān, Iṣṭahbānāt, and Darakān, with other places of the Dārābjird district. But, as Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, between the cousins there could be no peace, Salk ibn Muḥammad, and his son Ḥasūyah after him, living in perpetual war with Mamā ibn Namrad and his son Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā, and this state of things still obtained at the time when our author wrote.

The three remaining *Shabānkārah* tribes were of less importance. The chief of the Karzuvi clan was a certain

Abū Sa'd, who is mentioned more than once in the geographical part of the work. Abū Sa'd was the son of a certain Muḥammad ibn Mamā; he took service under Faḍlūyah, and in the disorders of the last Buyid days obtained possession of Kāzirūn with its districts. All this country he held till the arrival of the Atabeg Chāuli in Fārs, who before long dispossessed him of Kāzirūn. Abū Sa'd, when our author wrote, was apparently already dead, having left a son named, after his early patron, Faḍlūyah (ibn Abū Sa'd), now become chief of the remnant of the Karzuvi clan.

Of the Mas'ūdi tribe, the chief had been a certain Amīruwayh, who, making himself powerful in the time of Faḍlūyah, was put in possession of the castle of Sahārah, near Firūzābād, together with some neighbouring fiefs. The Atabeg Khumārtagīn, coming to Fārs, allowed him to hold all these under the Saljūq overlordship, and then Amīruwayh got into his possession the city of Firūzābād. Next the Mas'ūdi, now become a powerful tribe, seized most of the district of Shāpūr Khūrah, round Kāzirūn, in addition to the lands of Firūzābād. The rise to power of Abū Sa'd, the chief of the Karzuvi clan, however, proved the ruin of Amīruwayh and his people: fighting took place, and the town of Kāzirūn, held by Amīruwayh, having been taken by storm, Abū Sa'd forthwith put that chief to death. Amīruwayh left a son, Vishtāsf by name, and after Abū Sa'd had himself come to his end, and when the Atabeg Chāuli had Fārs firmly under rule, he confirmed Vishtāsf, who was related to Ḥasūyah of the Ismā'ili clan on the mother's side, in possession of Firūzābād, where he governed till his death. When our author wrote, the Mas'ūdi were ruled by a certain Siyāh Mil, descended from this Vishtāsf. In the geographical part of the work he is stated to have held the castle of Būshkānāt, and there were also of this family the two sons of a certain Abū-l-Habaḥ, who still held rank in our

author's time. The last clan of the Shabānkārah to be mentioned is that of the Shakānī, who lived in the mountain-lands of the coast or hot region. They were for the most part robbers and highwaymen, Ibn-al-Balkhī states, but had been brought to order in recent times by the Atabeg Chāuli.

Our author next speaks of the Kurd tribes, who in Fārs were divided among the Five Ramms (clans)<sup>1</sup> named the Jilūyah (or Jilawayh), the Ramm-adh-Dhīwān, the Lawalijān, the Kariyān, and the Bazūyān, and these five clans had occupied, he says, originally one hundred thousand Jawmahs, villages or households. In the days of the Sassanians, according to Ibn-al-Balkhī, the Kurdish troops of the Great King had been the flower of the Persian armies; hence, at the time of the Moslem conquest, of the Kurd warriors all, save one man only, had fallen in the numerous battles against the Arab invaders. The one survivor, 'Alak by name, had subsequently become a Moslem, and some of his descendants were yet living when our author wrote. He adds that the Kurds settled in Fārs in his day were of a tribe that had been brought down there by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid from the neighbourhood of Isfahān.

Ibn-al-Balkhī closes this section of his book (fols. 88b-89b) with a short discussion as to how the Persians, who are a refractory folk, may best be governed, whether by force or by clemency. In regard to the Shabānkārah more especially, he remarks that you will certainly be

<sup>1</sup> In the B.M. MS. the word is clearly written, and with the vowel marked, *Ram* or *Ramm*. Possibly, but by no means certainly, in error the MSS. give it at times with initial *z*, written *Zamm*. See De Goeje in Glossary to BGA, iv, p. 250. *Jawmah*, otherwise *Hawmah* (the word is now pronounced *Hūmah*), means "a village"; also "the chief town of a district"; but it must here stand for "a household". The above list of the Ramms Ibn-al-Balkhī has copied verbatim from *Iṣṭakhṛī* (pp. 98 and 99). For *Ram-adh-Dhīwān* our MS. may read *Az-Zabwān*; *Yāqūt* has *Az-Zizān*, and *Muqaddasī* *Az-Zirāz*. For other variants see the notes to *Iṣṭakhṛī*, pp. 98, 99.

respected by any one of these turbulent tribesmen if by force you take his turban and then restore it, and this much more than if in the first instance you had generously given him a new turban of your own as a present, for doing which indeed he would only despise you.

Immediately following after the very meagre notice of the Moslem conquest of Persia Ibn-al-Balkhī has inserted a short account of the family of the Chief Justice of Fārs (fols. 62a-63b); a summary of these paragraphs will be of use, before passing to the translation of the Geographical Section of his work, where an allusion to the family of the Shīrāz judge occurs. As is patent throughout his work, our author was an orthodox Sunnī, and he held in horror the Shī'ah tendencies of the Buyids, whose heterodox beliefs (he further avers) had always when possible been combated by the Qādīs of Shīrāz. These judges were of a family come down in direct descent from Abū Burdah of the Arab tribe of Fazārah,<sup>1</sup> and during the reign of the Caliph Rāḍī, that is to say between 322 and 329 (934-40), the grandson of the grandson of this Abū Burdah, by name Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah, was promoted from being Judge in Baghdād to be Qādi-al-Qudāt, or Chief Justice of Fārs, his jurisdiction being afterwards extended to include the outlying provinces of Kirmān and 'Omān, with the city of Tiz in Makrān. Ibn-al-Balkhī adds that the Qādi Abū Muḥammad, who had composed no less than eighteen works on jurisprudence, "had every care to order well, with good intent, both the (orthodox) Faith and the (Sunnī) Tradition, thus firmly laying the foundations in the matter of the Law." 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid prince of that day, in spite of his own strong inclination towards the Shī'ah doctrines, had honoured the Qādi with his trust and esteem, for,

<sup>1</sup> He is usually known as Abū Burdah son of Abū Mūsā-al-Ash'ari; and he was Qādi of Kūfah, and died in 103 (721). His father was a well-known Companion of the Prophet, and had been Governor of Baṣrah.



putting him to the proof, he had ever found him to be incorruptible. This Abū Muḥammad left five sons: Abū Naṣr, the youngest, succeeded him in the judgeship, of whom later; next Abū Dharr and Abū Zuhayr, who settled down as Dihqāns, or provincial nobles, in Kirmān; Abū Ṭāhir, who acted as his father's deputy in the Kirmān judgeship, and was called to the Sublime Court (*Dargāh-i-A'la*, Baghḍād presumably) for consultations on the affairs of that province; and lastly Abū-l-Ḥasan, who, after having been associated with his younger brother (Abū Naṣr) in the Fārs judgeship, was sent for by Sultan Maḥmūd, some time between 388 and 421 (998 and 1030), who appointed him Qādī at Ghaznah, and his descendants still held the office of judge there at the time when Ibn-al-Balkhī wrote. Abū Naṣr, the youngest of the Qādī Abū Muḥammad's five sons, as already said succeeded him as Judge of Fārs. He was a man of great learning and influence throughout the province, his power coming to be increased upon his marriage with the only daughter of the Mirdāsī chief, a family of local nobility. His son was named 'Abd-Allah, and when in due course he succeeded to the office of Chief Justice he became also, in his mother's right, the hereditary chief noble of the Fārs district. This power, judicial and tribal, Ibn-al-Balkhī adds, had afterwards passed to both his son and grandson, whose names our author does not specify, and the grandson was Judge of Shīrāz when our author wrote. The Judge 'Abd-Allah had flourished in the reign of Bākālījār, the penultimate Buyid prince, whose heterodox Shī'ah proclivities the orthodox 'Abd-Allah had always valiantly striven to combat; and further, to his exceeding honour, a brother of the Qādī 'Abd-Allah had through scruples of conscience always refused to be made judge in Isfahān. But, as our author writes, "in the days of Bākālījār, the sect of the Seven Imāms had become very rampant," and to the grief of Qādī Abd-Allah the Buyid prince now

appeared to be paying great attention to the preaching of a certain Shī'ah missionary named Abū Naṣr ibn 'Amrān, whom the people also were beginning to look upon as a prophet. The pious zeal of the judge becoming inflamed by the disastrous influence which the missionary was getting to exercise over Bākālījār, with much astuteness demanded a private audience, and succeeded in persuading the Buyid prince that the missionary, having succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of the troops, was now inciting them to revolt against the Government. Bākālījār thereupon, without pausing to inquire, ordered out a hundred men of his Persian horse-guards and a hundred of his Turk pages, putting them under the orders of a trustworthy person supplied by the Qādi 'Abd-Allah. This officer managed matters promptly and cleverly. The missionary was seized and carried many days on horseback without rest or delay, being at length set free on the further side of the Euphrates, where a decree was forthwith published that it were lawful to slay him if he repassed that stream eastward.

With this anecdote our author concludes his notice of the Chief Justices, and next comes the description of the province of Fārs (fols. 63b-86b), which will be found translated in the pages which follow. For a general description of the province and its towns, I may refer the reader to the chapter on Fārs in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. References to the earlier Arab geographers are to the texts printed in the volumes of the *Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum* (BGA.) of De Goeje. For the present condition of the province I have consulted the (modern) *Fārs Nāmah Nāṣiri* (referred to as FNN.), written by Ḥājī Mirzā Hasan Ṭabīb of Shīrāz (folio lithograph, Tihṙān, A.H. 1313, A.D. 1895), of which the great map, in Persian, on the scale of about ten miles to the inch, gives us the position of every village and stream throughout the province. This work has enabled me to identify many names written defectively in the manuscript,



and also to verify the fact in regard to the names which, in the lapse of eight centuries since Ibn-al-Balkhī wrote, have disappeared leaving no trace.<sup>1</sup> And it may be remarked that in many cases the name of an ancient town, or village, that has disappeared, is preserved in the modern district, and sometimes vice versa.

### THE PROVINCE OF FARS

*Section giving the description of Fārs.*—This land, after the coming of Islām, became the first camping-ground of the Arab armies, but in the days of the old Persian kings Fārs was the centre of their government and the original seat of their power. For at that time all the countries from the banks of the Oxus to the borders of the Euphrates went by the name of the Land of the Persians; all here were the cities of the Persians, and all the world paid them taxes and tribute. When, however, Islām arose and Fārs came to be conquered, this province became the camping-ground of [one of the armies of] 'Irāq, for no sooner had the Moslems come hither than they took up their quarters permanently in the land, on the one part the troops from Kūfah, on the other those from Baṣrah, and from this base they went forth to the conquest of all lands and to subjugate the [eastern] world. Afterwards they gave the names of these two townships, whence originally the armies of Islām had been recruited, to the conquered provinces. Now, the army from Kūfah had taken possession of Quhistān and Jibāl, [with all the country from] Isfahān to Ray and Dāmghān [going north] to Ṭabaristān; these provinces, therefore, were given the name of Māh Kūfah, and in the [registers of] taxes this name still occurs. The army from Baṣrah, on the other

<sup>1</sup> This map, which is difficult to procure, I have had on loan from Mr. A. G. Ellis, to whom I am also indebted for having in the first instance brought the *Fārs Namah-i-Nāṣiri* to my notice.

hand, had conquered Bahrayn and 'Omān, with Tiz in Makrān, also Kirmān, Fārs, and Khūzistān, with the adjacent lands and the Arab districts that lie on the frontier; and so all this region came to be known as Māh Baṣrah, and in the registers this name too occurs. Fārs, therefore, is one of the Baṣrah camping-grounds, for it was conquered by the army from Baṣrah, and it came to be called Māh-al-Baṣrah, and the name is so written in the registers.

The extent of Fārs, with its districts, is 150 leagues in length by 150 leagues in breadth. In regard to the positions of the angles [of its frontier line], these, as shown in the figure on the margin of the manuscript<sup>1</sup> lie at the four cardinal points, east, west, north, and south, and not at the corners [to the N.E., N.W., S.E., and S.W.]. Thus, the shape of the province is a square [or lozenge], of which the angles are to the four main points of the compass, while the four sides lie cross-wise facing the intervening compass-points, all of which will be clearly understood if the accompanying figure drawn [on the margin of the manuscript], and which represents the outline of the province, be carefully considered. The frontier lands at these four angles of Fārs are as follows: To the north the [province here] adjoins Isfahān, the frontier between Isfahān and Fārs being at Yazdikhwāst, and then come Yazd, Abar-qūyah, and [on the other side] Sumayram. The eastern angle of Fārs is towards Kirmān, in the direction of Sīrjān, the frontier being at Rūdān. This place Rūdān was originally in the Fārs province, but in the reign of the late Sulṭān Alp Arslān, when the frontier came to be re-established between Fārs and Kirmān, at the time that Qāvurd [his brother was made governor of Fārs], Rūdān was then counted as of Kirmān. The angle to the south lies on the seashore at the frontier of Kirmān,

<sup>1</sup> This figure of a lozenge is wanting in both manuscripts.

and the districts of Huzū are at this place; and next comes the Sif [or Coast District] lying along the sea. The western angle of Fārs is towards Khūzistān, in the direction of the Sea of 'Omān, the frontier being near Arrajān [which should of right be counted] as of the province of Fārs. However, at the time when [the Buyid prince] Bākālījār<sup>1</sup> was driven from his kingdom, the governor of that district was a certain Wazīr, Abu-l-'Alā by name, and he, making common cause with Hazār Asp<sup>2</sup> [the chief of that frontier], delivered over Arrajān into his hands. Hence it has come about that since the time when Khūzistān [about 443 (1051)] on the first establishment of the present [Saljūq] dynasty, was placed under the governorship of Hazār Asp, Arrajān has been included in the Khūzistān province.

*Description of the Kūrahs [Districts] of Fārs.*—The province of Fārs contains five [Districts or] Kūrahs, and each Kūrah is called after the name of the king who first established it; these districts therefore stand thus: the Iṣṭakhr Kūrah, that of Dārābjird, that of Ardashīr Khūrah,<sup>3</sup> of Shāpūr Khūrah, and of Qubād Khūrah; and each one of these five Kūrahs contains various cities and sub-districts, as will be fully detailed in what follows.

#### THE ISTAKHR DISTRICT

The name of this district is from [the capital, Persepolis] Iṣṭakhr, which same was the first city to be built in Fārs, and it was founded by [the mythical king] Kayūmarth. The Kūrah extends over a total area of 50 leagues in the

<sup>1</sup> In the manuscript, as already said, spelt thus and alternatively Bākālīnjār. See Introduction, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Hazār Asp ibn Bankīr ibn 'Iyād Taj-al-Mulk (Ibn-al-Athīr, ix, 322).

<sup>3</sup> Always written in the MS. khūrah, the Arabic form being khurrah, meaning "the Glory" of Ardashīr, Shāpūr, and Qubād. As a matter of fact only these three last Kūrahs bear the names of kings. The five Kūrahs are those given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 97) except that he calls Qubād Khurrah the Kūrah of Arrajān.

breadth by 50 in length. Its frontiers in the length are at Yazd [on the east] and at Hazār Dirakht [“the Thousand Trees,” on the west],<sup>1</sup> and in the breadth extend from Qūhistān<sup>2</sup> to Nāyriḡ. The chief cities of the Kūrah are the following.

*Yazd*.—This city, with its dependent towns Maybud, Nāyin, Kathah [Old Yazd], and Fahraj, with some others, belongs to Fārs, and it lies on the frontier of the Iṣṭakhr Kūrah. Yazd has its water from underground channels [*kārīz*]; its climate is temperate, but by reason that the city stands on the border of the [Great] Desert, it is at times hot. Fruits of all kinds grow well, and pomegranates are in greater abundance here than anywhere else, those of Maybud being the best in quality. In Fahraj the water-melons are excellent, sweet, and so large that two of them are a load for any beast.<sup>3</sup> In the districts round silk is produced, for the mulberry-tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade, also of the kind named *mushṭī*, *farakh*,<sup>4</sup> and the like, for in [Yazd] they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong. The people [of Yazd] are all of the Sunnī sect, orthodox, pious, and strict [in religious observance]. The coin in use here is known as

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have, probably in error, Hazār va Dirakht, “Thousand and a Tree.” The place named is possibly connected with Hazār, chief town of the Hazār District, with a mosque (*minbar*) mentioned by Iṣṭakhri, p. 102 (also p. 123, l. 1, where *Harāt* in the text is in error for Hazār), and IH. 182, 194. Muqaddasī (p. 458) writes the name Azār Sābūr, in Qudāmāh (p. 196) it is given as Nay Sābūr. The present village of Hazār lies 2½ leagues south-east of Bayḏā (FNN. 185), which agrees with the Itineraries (Ist. 132, IH. 201, Muq. 458), where it is placed half-way between Māyin and Shīrāz.

<sup>2</sup> The village near Isfidān, see next page.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. here has a hole in the paper: text completed from Hāfiz Abrū (India Office MS., fol. 76a, B.M. 86a).

<sup>4</sup> *Mushṭī* is mentioned in Muqaddasī (p. 323) as the name of a stuff made in Nishāpūr. De Goeje (*Glossary*, BGA. iv, 355) explains that the name came from the instrument (*mushṭ*) used in its manufacture. What the *farakh* stuff was is uncertain; possibly we should read *farajī*, given in the dictionaries as the name of a garment worn by Shaykhs.

the Amīrī gold piece, and three of these dinārs go to the red dinār.<sup>1</sup>

*Greater and Lesser Urd.*—A meadow-land, 30 leagues in length by 3 in breadth. In this meadow-land there are districts that are full of villages with fiefs paying the state and the land taxes.<sup>2</sup> The chief town of those districts is Bajjah.<sup>3</sup> The climate here is extremely cold, hence there are neither trees nor gardens. Both in the plain and in the hills around are many springs. In this district also is a village [called *Kushk-i-Zard*<sup>4</sup>], of the state-domains, and this is the frontier village of the district. All these places are most populous, and to this district also belong the villages of Dih Gawz, Abādah, and Shūristān.<sup>5</sup>

*Kūrad and Kallār.*<sup>6</sup>—Kūrad is a small town, Kallār a large village; and a wide district lies round them, producing corn crops, for the climate here is very cold. There are running streams, and the source of the River Kur is in this district. It is most populous.

*Isfidān and Qūhistān.*<sup>7</sup>—Both these places are much

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the "Abbasid dinār" of the Caliphate, worth about half a sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> *Mulki wa kharāji*.

<sup>3</sup> The name Urd is no longer known. Bajjah, the chief town (or *Jawmah*), is possibly Bāzbachah, 5½ leagues north of Aspās (FNN. 220, Ist. 103, Muq. 424). The word *Jawmah*, already referred to (p. 13), often written in the MSS., whether in error or not, *Ḥawmah*, is used in Ibn-al-Balkhī for "the chief town" of a district. In modern Persian *hūmah* is the district round a town, e.g. the *hūmah* of Shīrāz (FNN. 190).

<sup>4</sup> MS. blank restored conjecturally from Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī.

<sup>5</sup> Dih Gawz is modern Dih Girdū, "Nut Village" (FNN. 220). This Abādah is now known as "of Iqlid", to distinguish it from the village of the same name near Lake Bakhtigān (FNN. 168). Shūristān is modern Shūlgistān (FNN. 168), which *Istakhrī* (p. 103) gives as Sarvistān, "Cypress Village."

<sup>6</sup> Kūrad, according to the Itineraries, lay 5 leagues north of Kallār. Neither place now exists.

<sup>7</sup> Isfidān, which is not mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably the modern Isfadrān (FNN. 221). Qūhistān, which generally means "a mountain district" or "the hill country", is here the name of a village, probably near Isfadrān, but no longer to be found on the map. It is given above as on the western frontier.

like Kūrad. The climate here is extremely cold; and in the neighbourhood there is a cavern in the mountain that can be used as a place of refuge.

*Yazdikhwāst*.—This place, with Dih Gawz, *Shūristān*, Abādah [above mentioned], and other villages of these parts are all of the cold district, growing corn but no fruit. There are running streams and springs here, but at *Shūristān* ["the Salt Village"] the water is brackish.

*Khabraz and Sarvāt*.—[Both these are] small towns, having many districts round them, of which they are the chief places. The climate here is cold but temperate; there are running streams and springs, and fruit of all kinds is grown plentifully. The district is populous, and in the chief town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.<sup>1</sup>

*Khabrak and Qālī*.—*Khabrak* is a large village and *Qālī* a meadow-land, some [5 or 6]<sup>2</sup> leagues in length. The climate here is cold but healthy; also there are hunting-grounds. Their water is from the river [*Purvāb*], which is very wholesome. The district is populous, and near by is the village of *Khuvār*, the climate and water of which

<sup>1</sup> There is some confusion about these two places and the next two mentioned. *Khabraz* appears to be modern *Khabriz*, lying 3 leagues south-west of *Arsinjān* (FNN. 173). No village of *Sarvāt* now exists, and the name is given by *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 103, also IH. 182) as *Sarvāb*, and in the present MS. it is often written so that it might be read *Purvāb*, the name of the river. *Sarvāt*, however, is given below as near *Kamah*, modern *Kamīn*, hence it probably stood to the southward of modern *Kalīlak*. The district round this, along the eastern bank of the *Purvāb* River, was apparently the meadow land of *Qālī*, a name that has disappeared from the map. This also is the case with *Khabrak*, but *Khuvār* near which it stood exists, as *Qal'ah Khār* (1 league to the south-east of *Arsinjān*), and *Khabrak*, given later in the MS. under the form *Khafrak*, must have been one of the chief villages of the *Khafrak* Districts, Upper and Lower, which are well known (FNN. 174, 300). The mosque for the Friday prayers so frequently mentioned [literally "congregational mosque and pulpit"; *jāmi' wa minbar*] is a phrase taken from *Iṣṭakhri* and other earlier Arab geographers who give long lists of towns with or without a *minbar* or "pulpit", to indicate their approximate importance and size.

<sup>2</sup> Added from *Hāfiẓ Abrū*, and see the previous note.



are as aforesaid, and here too there is a castle called Qal'ah *Khuvār*.

*Māyīn*.—A small town in the hill country, lying at the foot of a pass, at a point where many roads meet. The climate is cold, and the water from running streams excellent. They have corn and fruit, but in no great quantities. Most of the people here are thieves and robbers.

*Abarqūyah*.—Abarqūyah is a small town, with a broad district round it, having a temperate climate, somewhat cooler than that of Yazd. Its water is from running streams partly, and in part from underground channels. There are corn-lands, and much fruit is grown. It is a pleasant place, with an invigorating climate, but other crops [beyond those above mentioned] do not grow here. The town is populous, and there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Iqlīd*.—A small town, with a fortress; also a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cool, for it lies in the cold country, and is both temperate and invigorating. The water is good, being from running streams. Fruits of all kinds are cultivated here, and there are corn-lands, but no other crops are grown. The place is very populous.<sup>1</sup>

*Surmaq and Arjumān*.—[Both are] small towns, with their districts, that resemble in every way Iqlīd. They also grow here apricots; the equal thereof for excellence and sweetness will not be found anywhere else in all the world, and the dried apricots from this place are exported to other lands. The district is very populous.

*Rūn Greater and Lesser*.<sup>2</sup>—These are meadow-lands,

<sup>1</sup> Māyīn, Abarqūyah, now called Abarqūh, and Iqlīd are all well-known places; so too Surmaq and Arjumān, now written Sūrmaq and Argumān (FNN. 169, 171, 291). In the text of *Iṣṭakhṛī* (p. 101) Arjumān is wrongly given as *Arkhumān* or *Urkhumān* (variant here right). Our Paris MS. gives *Urjān* or *Uzjān*, in error, which must not be mistaken for *Uzjān* of *Yāqūt*, i, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Rūn District is no longer found on the map, but its position north of Māyīn is confirmed by the *Itinerary*. It is not the modern Rivin (spelt the same) of FNN. 272, which lay in Kūh Gilāyah.

16 leagues in length by 2 in width. There are many districts among these meadows, where are fiefs and crown lands<sup>1</sup>; and the chief town lies among gardens. The climate is cold, their water is from springs, and they have hardly any fruit, nothing being grown except corn. You go from here to the pass above Māyin, a fearful road, by reason of the footpads, who infest all the villages of that district.

*Kāmfirūz*.<sup>2</sup>—A district lying on the banks of [the River Kur]. There is here a great forest of oak-trees, with medlars and willows. Lions are met with in great numbers, very fierce and bold, and in no other place [in Fārs] are they so numerous. The climate is cold, but temperate, and they get their water from the river [Kur], which is excellent and digestible. The chief town of the district is [Tīr Māyijān],<sup>3</sup> but most of its villages are now in ruin.

*Kamah, Fārūq, and Lasirā*.<sup>4</sup>—[Three] small towns, with many villages and their districts. The climate here is cold but temperate. There are many fine running streams, and much fruit of all kinds is grown. Hunting-grounds abound near by. All the district is populous, and in the chief town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Šāhah and Harāh*.<sup>5</sup>—Two small towns; the climate here is temperate, but running streams are scarce. In Šāhah they get iron, and of the steel make swords and other blades, which [after the name of the town] are

<sup>1</sup> *Iqtā'ī wa mulkī*.

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 256. The chief town of the district, now, is called Pālangarī.

<sup>3</sup> Blank: see Itinerary. *Ištakhri* does not mention its chief town.

<sup>4</sup> Kamah town is probably the present Kalīlak, the capital of the Kamīn District: Fārūq exists, in the Upper Khafrak District; but Lasirā, or Basirā (as the name is spelt later), is no longer to be found on the map (FNN. 260, 300).

<sup>5</sup> Šāhah is modern Chāhak, as further shown by the name of the Chāhaki swords. Harāt, as the name is written in the Arab geographers, also exists (FNN. 181, 301).



called Chāhākī. Both these towns are populous, each having a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Bavvān and Marvast*.<sup>1</sup>—Bavvān is a small town, with a mosque for Friday prayers; and Marvast is like it. There are fruit orchards, so extensive that their trees make a forest. These two towns lie near the districts of Kirmān. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams; also, both places are very populous.

*Abraj*.<sup>2</sup>—A large village lying at the foot of a hill. This hill is their sure refuge, and they have dug their houses, [building them] one above another in its flank. An abundant stream flows down from its summit, and the water for the whole district is taken from this.

*Ištakh̄r*<sup>3</sup> and *Marvdasht*.—Ištakh̄r in the days of the ancient Persian kings was their capital. It was, in fact, first founded by Kayūmarth, and after him each king on his accession added something to the city, more especially Tahmūrath, who built here many palaces. When Jamshīd came to be king of [Persia and] the whole world, he made Ištakh̄r such an enormous city that its limits extended from Hafrak or Khafrak [on the east] to the further parts of Rāmjird [on the west], its area measuring 4 leagues in length by 10 in breadth. Within the circuit of the city there were three castles, one Qal'ah

<sup>1</sup> Bavvān (not to be confused with the valley of Bavvān, mentioned below) was the chief town of the district still known as the Bavvānāt. Of this the capital now is Sūriyān, but Bavvān town is more probably to be identified with modern Muzayjān, which in the Arab geographers is spelt Murayzījan (FNN. 181, Ist. 101, Muq. 424). The town of Marvast must not be confounded with the Marvdasht district, as is too often the case in the MSS. The town exists (FNN. 301); and it is probably the place mentioned by Ištakh̄rī (p. 102), where for *Marusf* in the text we should read the variant Marūst or Marvast given in the note. (In BGA. iv, 390, the emendation that this should be read *Marvdasht* is certainly in error.) Neither Marvdasht district nor Marvast town is mentioned by any of the other Arab geographers.

<sup>2</sup> Abraj is now the name of the district of which the chief town is Dashtak (FNN. 170).

<sup>3</sup> Persepolis (FNN. 293).

Iṣṭakhr, the second Qal'ah Shikastah [the Broken Castle], and the third Qal'ah Shakanvān. These were known as the Three Domes.<sup>1</sup> Next he built a palace at the foot of the hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world; and the description thereof is after this wise. At the foot of the hill [north of Iṣṭakhr] Jamshīd laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in colour, the platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides 30 ells. In the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy of ascent that horsemen could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns of solid blocks in white stone, so finely worked that even in wood it might be impossible to make the like by turner's art or by carving; and these columns were very tall. Some were after one pattern, while others were differently carved; and among the rest there were two pillars in particular which stood before the threshold [of the palace], these being square in shape, and formed of a white stone that resembled marble. Nowhere else in all the province of Fārs is any stone like this found, and no one knows whence these blocks were brought. This stone is [a stiptic] for wounds, hence they break off pieces thereof, and when any one has received a hurt they file some piece of the stone down, and laying [the powder] on the wound it forthwith is staunched. The wonder is however these great stones were set up here, for each pillar measures more than 30 ells round and about, being also more than 40 ells in height; and each is built up of only two or [at most] three blocks. Further, there is

<sup>1</sup> *Siḥ Gumbadān*.—At fol. 15b of the MS. the author writes that in the castle of Iṣṭakhr Jamshīd kept his treasury [*khazānah*], in the castle of Shikastah his storehouse [*farrāsh-khānah*], and in the castle of Shakanvān he established his armoury [*zarrād-khānah*]. This last name is sometimes written Shankavān.

to be seen here the figure of [the steed] Burāq,<sup>1</sup> and the figure is after this fashion: the face is as the face of a man with a beard and curly hair, with a crown set on the head, but the body, with the fore and hind legs, are those of a bull, and the tail is a bull's tail. Now all these columns had borne originally upper stories erected on their summits, but of these buildings no trace now remains. Round and about lie mounds of clay, and the people going up there dig out this clay and wash it; and they find in among the clay Indian tutty,<sup>2</sup> which same is a medicament for the eyes; but no one knows how this has here come to be mixed up with the clay. In Iṣṭakhr everywhere and about may be seen the sculptured portrait of Jamshīd, [and he is represented] as a powerful man with a well-grown beard, a handsome face, and curly hair. In many places his likeness has been so set that he faces [south to] the sun. In one hand he holds a staff, and in the other a censer, in which incense is burning, and he is worshipping the sun. In other places he is represented with his left hand grasping the neck of a lion, or else seizing a wild ass by the head, or again he is taking a unicorn [or rhinoceros] by the horn, while in his right hand he holds a hunting-knife, which he has plunged into the belly of the lion or unicorn aforesaid. In the hill [above Iṣṭakhr] they have made a hot-bath, cutting tanks in the solid rock; and the water which flows into these tanks from the sides and the ceilings is from a natural hot spring, which goes to prove that the source of the water lies in a sulphur-bed. On the hill-summit [beyond Iṣṭakhr] are many great Dakhmahs,<sup>3</sup> to which the people have given the name of the Prison of the Wind.

<sup>1</sup> On which the Prophet Muḥammad made his Night Journey to Heaven. See Qurān, ch. xvii, where, however, the name of the steed is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Tutty, which is crude zinc oxide, is found in many parts of Persia.

<sup>3</sup> So-called Towers of Silence, where the dead were exposed by the Guebres.

The Marvdasht District<sup>1</sup> in part was built over by the houses of the city [of Iṣṭakhr], but the greater portion was occupied by the gardens of Jamshid's palaces. The River Purvāb is the celebrated stream that flows past Iṣṭakhr and through the Marvdasht district; its waters are wholesome to drink. The climate of Iṣṭakhr is cold but temperate, and resembles that of Isfahān. In the early days of Islām when Iṣṭakhr was first conquered [by the Arabs], once and twice even the people revolted treacherously, which led to a massacre of the inhabitants, as has been already mentioned in the first [historical] part of the present work, and the city was laid in ruins. Then long after this, in the latter part of the reign of Bākālījār [the Būyid], there was a certain Wazīr who, being at enmity with another [noble], set out to contend with him. Upon this the Amīr Qutulmish<sup>2</sup> came up with a [third] army, and they [fought], demolishing all that remained of [ancient] Iṣṭakhr, and pillaged the whole township. Wherefore at the present time Iṣṭakhr is become a mere village, with only a hundred men for population. The River Kur [as already said] flows through [the plain of] Marvdasht; its source is near Kallār, and it flows out into Lake Bakhtigān, the description of which will come in its proper place. Near Iṣṭakhr is seen the mountain of Nafasht, on which was preserved the Book of Zand,<sup>3</sup> which [the prophet] Zoroaster revealed.

*Rāmjird.*<sup>4</sup>—A district lying on the banks of the [Kur]

<sup>1</sup> FNN. 293, but, as already said (note to p. 25), not mentioned by the Arab geographers.

<sup>2</sup> The Amīr Qutulmish, surnamed *Shahāb-ad-Dawlah*, was the son of an uncle of Tughrul Beg. He was the contemporary and rival of Sultān Alp Arslān, and died in 456 (1064). (*Ibn-al-Athīr*, x, 23, 24.) He was the ancestor of the later Saljūq Sultans who ruled in Qūniyah (Iconium).

<sup>3</sup> This mountain and its connexion with the revelation of the Zand Avesta does not appear to be mentioned by any other authority. No Arab geographer seems to have noticed the name, and nothing about it is given by F. Rosenberg in his translation of the *Zaratusht Nāmāh* (*Le Livre de Zoroastre*, St. Petersburg, 1904).

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 214.

River. In this part of the stream they had in former days erected a dam in order to secure a sufficiency of water to irrigate the lands, but in the times of disorder [when the Arabs overran Persia] this dam fell to ruin, and all the district of Rāmjird went out of cultivation. In recent years the Atabeg Chāuli has rebuilt this dam, and the country round has again been brought under cultivation. This dam is named [after the Atabeg whose surname is Fakhr-ad-Dawlah] the Fakhristān. The climate of the district is cold but temperate, and there are corn-lands giving abundant crops, but no fruit is grown.

*Qutruh*.<sup>1</sup>—A small town with a temperate climate. There are running streams, and both corn and fruit are grown. It is now under the rule of Ḥasūyah.<sup>2</sup> There are iron-mines here, and the district is populous.

*Khayrah and Nayriz*.<sup>3</sup>—These are two small towns, and Nayriz possesses a castle. They grow grapes here abundantly, and most of the grapes they dry to make raisins. The climate is temperate, and there are running streams. In each town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, for they are very populous. Near by is the district governed by Ḥasūyah, and in *Khayrah* there is a very strongly fortified castle<sup>4</sup> on a hill-top.

*Upper and Lower Kirbāl*.<sup>5</sup>—[In these districts] they have built three dams across the Kur River, whose waters serve to irrigate their lands. Of these districts parts are of the hot region, parts of the cold, and there are corn-lands.

*Baydā*.<sup>6</sup>—A small but well-built town, and the soil here

<sup>1</sup> FNN. 308. Now spelt Qatrū.

<sup>2</sup> Chief of the Ismā'ili tribe; see Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Khayrah*, a stage in the Itineraries, must have been the chief hamlet of the *Khīr* district, which lies on the south of Lake Bakhtigān to the north of *Iṣṭahbānāt* (FNN. 178 and 199). *Nayriz*, now pronounced *Nīriz*, is a town and district to the east of the lake (FNN. 305).

<sup>4</sup> *Tīr-i-Khudā*; see below.

<sup>5</sup> FNN. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Now called the Hill of Baydā, *Tall Baydā* in Arabic meaning "the White Hill" (FNN. 183). The name is pronounced Bayzā by the Persians.

is white, and it is from this fact that the place has its name. Before the gate of the town there stretches out a fine meadow-land, 10 leagues in length by 10 leagues in width, and in all the country round there is none other to equal it. There are many dependent districts, and the fruit grown here is excellent, being of all kinds. The climate is cold but temperate, and running streams of good water abound. The town is populous, with a mosque for the Friday prayers. In the neighbourhood of Bayḍā lie the two [villages of] Āsh and Tūr.<sup>1</sup>

*Abādah.*<sup>2</sup>—A small town, having a strongly fortified castle. The climate is temperate, and its water is derived from the overflow of the Kur River, for near by lies the lake [of Bakhtigān]. Grapes in abundance grow here. The district [governed by] Hasūyah is near here, and it is very populous.

*Khurramah.*<sup>3</sup>—A small but pleasant town, with a temperate climate and running streams. Fruit and corn grow abundantly. There is a castle here, on the hill-top, which is very strongly fortified and known as Qal'ah *Khurramah*; in the town is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Dih Mūrd and Rādān.*<sup>4</sup>—Two villages lying at no great distance from Bavvān. The climate is cold, and in the first-named village myrtles grow abundantly.

<sup>1</sup> Neither appears to exist at the present day; cf. Itinerary for their position.

<sup>2</sup> The southern Abādah, now known as Abādah Tašk (FNN. 170).

<sup>3</sup> Now called *Khīrāmāh* (FNN. 257).

<sup>4</sup> *Dih Mūrd*, which still exists (FNN. 170), is called in Arabic *Qariyat-al-Ās*, both names signifying "Myrtle Village"; and it was known to the earlier geographers also as *Būdanjān*. *Rādān*, or *Rādhān*, is mentioned by *Iṣṭakhṛī* (p. 102) as a village with no mosque for the Friday prayer. *Muqaddasī* (p. 457) gives it as lying between *Harāt* and *Shahr-i-Bābak*, one stage from either place; it no longer appears to be marked on the map. *Rādān* must not be confounded with *Rūdān*, on the eastern frontier of Fārs.



## CHAPTER II

### THE DARABJIRD DISTRICT

THIS district<sup>1</sup> takes its name from Dārā [Darius] the Great, son of King Bahman ibn Isfandiyār.

*Dārābjird*.<sup>2</sup>—This city was founded by Dārā, son of Bahman. It was built circular as though the line of circumference had been drawn with compasses. A strong fortress stood in the centre of the town, surrounded by a ditch kept full of water, and the fortress had four gates. But now the town lies all in ruins, and nought remains except the wall and the ditch. The climate here is that of the hot region, and there are date-palms. The streams of running water are of bad quality. A kind of bitumen [*māmīyā*] is found [near Dārābjird] at a place up in the mountain, which bubbles up and falls drop by drop. Also there is a rock-salt found in these parts which is of seven colours where it comes to the surface of the ground.

*Purg and Tārum*.<sup>3</sup>—Two small towns, of which Purg is the larger, where there is a strong castle. Both towns lie on the frontier of Kirmān, and they are of the hot region,

<sup>1</sup> The Dārābjird District is named by Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi the Province of *Shabānkārah*, being called thus after the Kurdish tribe whose history has been given in the Introduction, p. 9. At the present day the district no longer bears this name; and *Shabānkārah*, now, is the name of a small sub-district, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the *Shāpūr* River, one of thirteen included in the district of *Dashtistān*. (FNN. 209, 224.)

<sup>2</sup> Modern Dārāb (FNN. 199, 201).

<sup>3</sup> Now Furg and Tārum (FNN. 217, 218). Spelt with dotted T.

whereby the dates and raisin-syrup [*dūshāb*] consumed in that region for the most part come from here. Indeed, the whole revenue from hence is derived from [the tax on] dates and corn. They also weave excellently here by hand-loom. In both towns there is a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the [celebrated basin called] Pharaoh's Cup<sup>1</sup> is to be seen near here.

*Pasā*.<sup>2</sup>—This is a great city that was founded by King Bahman, father of Dārā [Darius]. It was formerly as large in area as Isfahān, but now is gone to decay, so that the most part lies in ruin. It has many dependencies and districts. Their water is entirely obtained from underground channels, for there are neither springs nor brooks. The climate is temperate and bracing, the place being very pleasant and good to live in. The products of both the hot and the cold regions are to be found here, so that in all the gardens of Pasā you will find nuts and oranges, citrons and grapes, with figs and the like, namely, tropical fruits, together with those of the north, all in abundance. Indeed, there is no place equal to this elsewhere. There is also a strong fortress in Pasā, which the *Shabānkārah* had left in ruin, but which the Atabeg Chāuli has rebuilt. Kurm and Rūnīz are of the dependencies of Pasā.

*Kurm and Rūnīz*.<sup>3</sup>—These are two towns lying on the road into Pasā [from the north]. The climate is temperate; there are running streams; also in each town a mosque for the Friday prayer, and in both the districts corn and

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a tank for water.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Fasā (FNN. 229).

<sup>3</sup> Probably the village Kurm, which lies 3 leagues to the north of Fasā; but there is also Qaşr Kurm, half a league to the south-east of Fasā, which is known likewise as *Kūshk-i-Qādī*, "the Judge's Kiosk," at the present day. Rūnīz, Upper and Lower, is the name of two villages lying 5 and 6 leagues to the north of Fasā (FNN. 237, 238). This Rūnīz is not to be confounded with the town of Rūnīz mentioned by the older Arab geographers, a name which may be read Rūbanj (by a shifting of the diacritical points), and which lay half-way between Dārābjird and Juwaym, being of the *Khasū* District (Ist. 107, IH. 183).



fruits are grown. In the time of one of the Atabegs, when misfortune had overwhelmed Furg, the people of [Kurm and Rūniz] also behaved traitorously, on which [the Atabeg] took both towns by assault and laid them in ruin.

*Shaqq Rūdbāl* ["the River Gorge"] and *Shaqq Mīshānān*.<sup>1</sup>—These are two districts of the dependencies of Pasā. They are of the hot region, and corn is grown here, the water being from underground channels. There are many villages and farmsteads, but no town here. Now in these parts are many other districts like the above, but which will not here be more particularly described, lest we run to too great a length, and all are alike one to another.

*Hasū, Darākān, Mişş, and Rustāq-ar-Rustāq*.<sup>2</sup>—All these places are of the Dārābjird District and have a hot climate. The date-palm grows here, for there are running streams; also other fruit-trees abound. The [pass called] Tang-i-Ranbah<sup>3</sup> lies near here, and in the middle of the pass stands a strongly fortified castle, which was formerly held by Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā.<sup>4</sup> It is now garrisoned by the Kirmān troops.

<sup>1</sup> In *Iṣṭakhri* (109) *Shaqq-ar-Rūd* and *Shaqq-al-Māsnān*. The latter is now unknown, but the first of these districts is probably at the present day represented by the *Ṣahrā-i-Rūd*, "the plain along the river," through which the River Rūdbār flows (FNN. 238, 326).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the district of *Hasū* is now written *Khasū*, with *kh*, as is found in *Muqaddasī* (423). *Iṣṭakhri* (108) spells it *Hashūwā* (see FNN. 202, where, besides the district, the village of *Khasū* is also mentioned). There is probably some connexion between the name of this district of *Hasū* and *Hasūyah*, the *Shabānkārah* chief, often mentioned in the foregoing articles, and in the Introduction. *Darākān*, which was once the capital of the province, according to the Itinerary given in *Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī*, lay 4 leagues south of *Ij*. All traces of its ruins apparently have disappeared, but at the place indicated there is now the village of *Darākūh*, lying 10 leagues east of *Fasū* (FNN. 238 and Persian map). *Maşş* or *Mişş* is not to be found on the map, but is mentioned by the Arab geographers (*Ist.* 107, *Muq.* 423), who, however, do not give us its position. *Rustāq-ar-Rustāq* exists some 4 leagues north of *Furg* (FNN. 219).

<sup>3</sup> See below under Castles.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, p. 11.

*Ij and Fustajān*.<sup>1</sup>—The [first town, otherwise called] Ig, was in former times a mere village, but under the rule of Ḥasūyah it became a city. Its climate is temperate, but the water here is indigestible. Fruit is in plenty, more especially grapes. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers [in Ij]. Wayshkān<sup>2</sup> is a small town, now in ruins, with a bracing climate, though it lacks for water.

*Iṣṭahbān*.<sup>3</sup>—A small town full of trees such as bear every kind of fruit. It has running streams, and there is a castle here, that is very strongly fortified, and was formerly in the hands of Ḥasūyah.

*Jahram*.<sup>4</sup>—A medium-sized town, neither large nor small. There are corn-lands here, and much cotton is grown, which is also exported. *Kirbās* [a kind of muslin] too comes from here, and the [celebrated] Jahrami blankets [*zīlū*] are woven in this town. The climate is that of the hot region, and water is from both underground channels and from running brooks. There is a castle here called [*Khurshah*],<sup>5</sup> very strongly built, and he from whom this castle took its name was a certain Arab, of the time of [the Omayyad viceroy] Ḥajjāj, and this [*Khurshah*] built the fortress. [Fadlūyah of the] *Shabānkārah*<sup>6</sup> rebelled in this castle, but Nizām-al-Mulk laid siege to the place, taking it by assault. At the time when Persia [was conquered by the first Caliphs]<sup>7</sup> this town of Jahram was accounted especially to belong to the heir-apparent [of the Persian Chosroes], hence he who was declared heir to the throne, was held nominally to be the Governor of Jahram.

<sup>1</sup> Ij still exists (FNN. 178), but Fustajān is wanting on the map. According to the Itinerary it lay 7 leagues from Pasā and 10 leagues from Dārābjird.

<sup>2</sup> Not mentioned by other geographers and wanting on Persian maps and in FNN.

<sup>3</sup> Now called Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 175).

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Name omitted, see below, under Castles.

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction, p. 10. The name is omitted in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Blank in MS. Filled in from Ḥāfiẓ Abrū.

*Mishkānāt*.<sup>1</sup>—A district near Nayriz, and the road going through it leads to Nayriz. It is in every way like to Nayriz and *Khayrah* [which are of the *Iṣṭakhr Kūrah*], though *Mishkānāt* belongs by all accounts to the *Dārābjird Kūrah*.

*Juwaym of Abū Aḥmad*.<sup>2</sup>—This is of the *Irāhistān* District, of which indeed it is the *Jawmah* [or chief town. Further, though this last district is counted as of *Ardashir Khūrah*, *Juwaym*] is of the *Dārābjird Kūrah*. It is of the hot region, and its water comes from underground channels and from wells. Dates and corn are grown here, and *kirbās* [muslin] is manufactured. There is a castle here, known as *Qal'ah Samīrān*,<sup>3</sup> and the town has a mosque for Friday prayers. The people, like all the rest of the men of *Irāhistān*, are a warlike folk, being for the most part noted as footpads, thieves, and highwaymen.

### THE ARDASHIR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district takes its name of *Ardashir Khūrah*—"the Glory of King *Ardashir*"—from *Ardashir* the son of *Bābak* [founder of the Sassanian dynasty]; and he began his reign by building the city of *Firūzābād*, as has been already mentioned [in the historical portion of our work]. The cities and sub-districts of this *Kūrah* are as follows.

*Shīrāz and its Districts*.—In the days of the [older] Persian kings, where *Shīrāz* now stands was but [a townless] district with some forts lying in the open countryside. After the [Arab invasion and] the establishment of *Islām*, the place remained in the same desolate

<sup>1</sup> *Mishkān* or *Mishkūn* is a village lying 8 leagues north of *Nīriz* (FNN. 308). See *Iṣṭakhrī*, 109, note e, for variants. *Muqaddasī* (422) has *Maskānāt*.

<sup>2</sup> So called to distinguish it from the other *Juwaym* lying north-west of *Shīrāz*. The name is now pronounced *Jūyum* (FNN. 182, 186).

<sup>3</sup> See below under Castles.

state till the reign of [the Omayyad Caliph] 'Abd-al-Malik [65-86 (685-705)], who appointed Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf his viceroy in these lands. Ḥajjāj thereupon sent his own brother, Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, to act as his lieutenant in Fārs, of which he became later the permanent governor, and it was this Muḥammad who laid the foundations of Shīrāz. The original extent of Shīrāz was equal to that of Isfahān, and they even say that Shīrāz was a hundred paces the greater [in length]; but now the city all lies in ruins, and except for one or two quarters all the older part has disappeared. But during the times of the Buyid rule [fourth (tenth) century] it had come to be so densely populated that there was no room within the city for the garrison of [Daylamite] soldiers, for which reason 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah established a place for them outside Shīrāz, to which he gave the name of Gird Fanā Khusrū.<sup>1</sup> Here he laid out most excellent market streets, of which the rents<sup>2</sup> for the shops amounted to 16,000 dinārs [yearly, about £8,000], which sum was paid into his treasury. The place, however, has now so gone to ruin that the area of Gird Fanā Khusrū is at present merely a ploughed field, which yields a crop valued at 250 dinārs [yearly]. The actual rent that it pays, however, is never more than one hundred and odd dinārs, and the remainder of the site is of but small value, the rent being less. The climate of Shīrāz is cold but temperate, like that of Isfahān. The water comes

<sup>1</sup> Meaning "the Township of Fanā Khusrū", 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah's personal name. The site lies at a short distance to the south-east of Shīrāz, at a village still known as Shīb-i-Bāzār-i-'Aḍud-al-Dawlah, "the slope or glen of 'Aḍud's Market"; also called Qurā-al-Asāfil, "the Lower Villages" (FNN. 194).

<sup>2</sup> The word used is *ṭayyārāt*, not found in this sense in the dictionaries. It means literally "flyings", that is to say "extra revenues", "surplus income", and is used in the *Shams-i-Qays*, p. 11\*, line 10—a work written in 630 (1232)—with much the same signification. See also note by C. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1910, p. 370, on this word.

in part from the river and in part is from underground channels. The fruit here is most excellent, and of all sorts and kinds. The people of Shīrāz are a turbulent folk and valiant. The [Buyid prince] ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah had built himself a palace [in the city], with many fine gardens; but Abū Ghānim, the son of ‘Amīd-ad-Dawlah, when he took up his abode in the castle of Pahan-Diz,<sup>1</sup> laid the palace in ruins, carrying off the woodwork and the iron, which he made use of for the needs of the new castle [of Pahan-Diz]. In early days Shīrāz had no town wall, but at the time when the present [Saljūq] dynasty was coming to power Bākālījār [the Buyid prince] caused stones to be cut, and with them built a strong wall that went all round and about the city. Of this wall the remains may still be seen. Then, again, during the latter days of the Buyid dynasty, when there was continual fighting between Qāvurd [brother of Alp Arslān] and Faḏlūyah [the Shabānkārah chief], Shīrāz was raided again and again, whereby all its lands were given to ruin, and so remained till the coming of the good times when [the Atabeg] Rukn-ad-Dawlah [Khumārtagīn]

<sup>1</sup> Pahan-Diz, "the Broad Fort," according to the *Fārs Nāmāh Nāsirī*, crowns a pointed hill 300 ells in height, half a league to the east of Shīrāz. The remains of brickwork may still be seen, and there is a well-shaft, nearly 4 ells across, cut in the rock, and going down to water at the hill base. The Sassanian king Shīrūyah is said to have imprisoned seventeen of his brothers here, for this castle existed before the days of Islām; and Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanians, kept some of his regalia here, and this treasure was found later by ‘Aḏud-ad-Dawlah (FNN. 333). It is further stated in FNN. that the castle, which afterwards fell to complete ruin, had been in 327 (939) restored by the Buyid prince ‘Imād-ad-Dawlah, that is to say, the uncle of ‘Aḏud, but this is probably a mistake, ‘Imād being put for ‘Amīd above-mentioned. Who this ‘Amīd-ad-Dawlah (father of Abū Ghānim) was is not very clear. Abu Ghānim is not to be found in Ibn-al-Athīr, who, however, mentions two people of the name of ‘Amīd-ad-Dawlah: one (x, 23), also called ‘Amīd-al-Mulk, was the son of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah ibn Juhayr, the Wazīr of the Caliph Mustazhir in 488 (1095); the other (xi, 260), called Abu Sa’d ibn Muḥammad, was Wazīr to Jalāl-ad-Dawlah, the Buyid, about the year 420 (1029).

was appointed governor, who knew how to restore matters to order, giving peace to the country, so that [houses were rebuilt] and the lands were again brought under cultivation. Later on, however, during a single year, the city was twice stormed during the troubles of successive Shabānkārah insurrections, and then again it was ravaged by the Turks and the Turkomans, who carried off all that they could lay hands on, exacting a poll-tax also on every man of the inhabitants, so that they were absolutely brought to beggary. But there is hope now that by the power of the present [Saljūq] government—which may Allah perpetuate!—security will be permanently re-established, for Shīrāz, indeed, is a city that is without equal when its population live in peace. The Friday mosque in Shīrāz is a noble building, and then there is the Hospital [*bīmāristān*] of ‘Adud-ad-Dawlah, though this is now fallen into disrepair. Again, there is the Library, which is very excellent. That portion of the city which is still inhabited stands under the protection and in the oversight of the family of the Chief Justice of Fārs,<sup>1</sup> for he is of untiring effort to relieve the wants of the poor and needy of the city.

*Kavār*.<sup>2</sup>—A small town, most pleasant to live in, having many dependent districts, where there are extensive orchards. Fruit here [is so abundant that it fetches] no price, though all the fruit grown here is of excellent condition. Especially so is the pomegranate, which is the equal of that which comes from Tihirān, and there are good quinces, also almonds in abundance. Hence most of the provisions consumed in Shīrāz and its district are brought thither from here. Further, they grow much corn, also both *kirbās* [muslin] and reed matting are made here. The climate is cold but temperate. They get their water from the River Thakān, and near by are excellent hunting-grounds. There is a mosque for the Friday prayers in

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 261.



this town; but the people are a rough folk and very thick-witted.

*Khabr*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a small town, somewhat larger than Kavār. Its climate is temperate and bracing; indeed, in all those parts nowhere is the air pleasanter. The water is very digestive, and as in the case at Pasā every fruit of both the hot and the cold region grows here. Thus the orange and the perfumed melon [called *shamāmāh*], the lemon, and diverse aromatics are all found abundantly, also corn-lands. There was here a very strongly fortified castle, but the Atabeg [Chāuli] has laid it in ruins. Within the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. The people here are cleverer than those of Kavār. There are hunting-grounds near by, both in the hills and in the plain.

*Khunayfqān*.<sup>2</sup>—A large village lying at the head of the road going down into Firūzābād. The Persians pronounce the name *Khunāfgān*, and the road from here to Firūzābād is an extremely bad one, across passes and by steep mountains where [the hand must ever] be on the bridle. The road was also a fearful one by reason of being beset by footpads. The climate of *Khunayfqān* is cold but temperate. The River Burāzah, which is the stream that flows past Firūzābād, rises near by. The people of *Khunayfqān* have the evil character of all mountaineers, but at the present time under the sovereign [government of the Saljūqs] the roads, here as everywhere else, are now safe, and no one dare make any disorder.

*Būshkānāt*.<sup>3</sup>—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where there are plantations of date-palms. Its

<sup>1</sup> Now called *Khafr* (FNN. 196).

<sup>2</sup> Now spelt *Hunifqān*, with the lesser *h* (FNN. 198).

<sup>3</sup> The text of *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 105) in error gives this name as *Tūshkānāt*. The town of *Būshgān* is the present capital of the Bulūk District, in old times doubtless called the *Būshkānāt*; and *Shanānā* of our text is the modern *Sanā* in the *Dashtī* District, lying 4 leagues to the north-west of *Shambah* (FNN. 212-13). See also below in the Itinerary.

lands are the camping-grounds of the Mas'ūdī tribe of the Shabānkārah.<sup>1</sup> There is no city here, but Būshkān and Shanānān [or Sanānā] are both of the Būshkānāt District.

*Mūhū* [or *Māhūd*], *Hamjān*, and *Kabrīn*.<sup>2</sup>—These are all districts of the hot region, lying adjacent to the sea, on the coast of Irāhistān. The climate here is hot and the water unwholesome; but there are many palm-groves, though nowhere here is there a town of sufficient size to possess a mosque for the Friday prayer.

*Kārzīn*, *Qīr*, and *Abzar*.<sup>3</sup>—*Kārzīn* is a fine town of no great size, but now in ruins by reason of the disorders [of the last Buyid days]. *Qīr* and *Abzar* are two small towns belonging to *Kārzīn*. They are all of the hot region, and they take their water from the Thakān River; also there are many groves of the date-palm. In *Kārzīn* there is a strong castle, and to supply it with water they have constructed a syphon tube [*āb-duzdī*] which goes down from the castle to the bed of the Thakān River. The [townships of] *Harm* and *Kāriyān*<sup>4</sup> are of the dependencies of *Kārzīn*.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> It is a question whether, from the Persian text, three places or two are here mentioned. The names are not now to be found on the map, but the last name in the list may be identified with the modern *Gabrī*, lying 17 leagues to the north-west of *Gillāh Dār* (FNN. 260). *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 105, where many variants are noted) gives them as three separate places, none of which were large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers. *Mūhū* he gives under the form of *Hamand* or *Hamīd*. *Hamjān* appears as *Hajmān* or *Hamhān*. *Kabrīn* or *Kīrīn* may be *Kīzrīn* or *Kīrzīn*, the equivalent of *Khārzīn*, which lay one march distant from the well-known city of *Kārzīn* (and was not to be confounded therewith). Cf. I.H. 204, Muq. 456.

<sup>3</sup> All three famous in the times of the Arab geographers. *Kārzīn* is now merely a village, *Qīr* is a township, and *Abzar* town was probably at *Nim Dih*, the capital of the *Afzar* District, half a league east of *Āb Garm* (FNN. 179, 245, 246).

<sup>4</sup> The towns of *Harm* and *Kāriyān* lie 7 and 6½ leagues respectively to the north-west of *Bid Shahr* (FNN. 182). *Haram* or *Harm* is probably identical with the stage which *Muqaddasī* calls *Hurmuz*, lying one march from *Kārzīn*. *Iṣṭakhri*, who also mentions this *Hurmuz*, says it had no Friday mosque, being but a small place (Ist. 105, Muq. 456).

*Tawwaj*.<sup>1</sup>—This of old was a township of considerable size, and it was settled by a population of Arabs, for it lay in the hottest and most desert part of the hot region. But at the present day it lies in ruins, and of these Arab folk who peopled it in former times hardly any remain. [After the disappearance of these early inhabitants], however, 'Adud-ad-Dawlah, had brought hither a tribe of Syrian Arabs, settling them here, and at the present time such Arabs as are still found here are the descendants of this tribe. There are no running streams [in Tawwaj], but there is a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Māndistān*.<sup>2</sup>—This is a desert region measuring 30 leagues in length by the like across, where there are many villages and districts like those found throughout Irāhistān. This district lies along the sea-coast, and its crops are so fertile that one mann-weight of seed-corn produces a thousand-fold harvest. There is, however, no ground-water for irrigation, and they depend on the rains alone for their supply. The people have their drinking-water from the tanks which they have made. All along this coast-region the rains should come in the beginning of winter, in the months of Azar-Māh and Di-Māh [corresponding with November and December], and then they get for that year a magnificent crop, gaining much wealth. If, however, in those two aforesaid months no rain falls—even though it may come later, and in abundance during a subsequent month—then they get no good crops and the harvest is wanting.

*Sirāf*<sup>3</sup> and its Neighbourhood.—Sirāf in old times was a great city, very populous and full of merchandise, being

<sup>1</sup> Tawwaj, often mentioned by the Arab geographers, has left its name to the modern district of the coast-lands near the mouth of the Shāpur River. The site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Dih Kuhnah (Old Village), the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkārah sub-district of the Dashtistān District (FNN. 185, 209).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 213.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins of Sirāf exist at Bandar Tāhirī (FNN. 224).

the port of call for caravans<sup>1</sup> and ships. Thus in the days of the [Abbasid] Caliphs it was a great emporium, for here might be found stores of attar [of roses] and aromatics such as camphor, aloes, sandal-wood, and the like. [For its merchants] immense sums of money were to be gained here, and so matters continued till the last days of the Buyid supremacy. Then, however, the ancestors of the present Amīr Kaysh attained to power, and they got into their possession the Island of Qays<sup>2</sup> with the other neighbouring islands, whereby the revenue that had formerly been taken by Sirāf was cut off and fell into the hands of the Amīr Kaysh. Further, the Atabeg Rukn-ad-Dawlah Khumārtagin [when he had first been appointed governor of Fārs] lacked power and statesmanship to provide a remedy for this state of affairs. None the less he did truly on one or two occasions proceed to Sirāf with a view of building ships of war that should invade the Island of Qays and the other isles, but each time that he did so the Amīr Kaysh sent presents to him and gave bribes to those persons who were about him, so that they dissuaded him from accomplishing his project. Next it came to pass that a certain one of the Khāns [of Qays Island] named Abū-l-Qasim succeeded finally in getting possession of Sirāf also, and then every year or two [Khumārtagin] would dispatch an army thither with great effort [to make him evacuate Sirāf], but he could accomplish nothing against him. Thus, therefore, as matters now stood, no merchant would bring his ship into the port of Sirāf to refit, nor for shelter would any anchor there on the voyage to Kirmān from Mahrubān or Dawraq or Baṣrah, wherefore no goods

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is *mashra' būrihā wa kashīhā*, and for *būrī*, a word not found in the dictionaries, Hāfiẓ Abrū has, in the corresponding passage, *kārvānhā*. The ordinary use of *būriyā* or *būriyah* is for "matting".

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that here and elsewhere it would seem that Kaysh was the family name of the Amīr of Qays Island.

but leatherware and pots,<sup>1</sup> and things that the people of Fārs alone had need of, now passed by the road of Sirāf, and thus the town fell to complete ruin. There is still here, however, a mosque for the Friday prayer, and there are many dependencies and outlying lands. The climate is excessively hot, and there is no water, except for one or two springs, wherefore they have always to depend on collecting the rainwater [in tanks] for drinking purposes.

*Ramm [or Zamm] Zavān, Dādhīn, and Davvān.*<sup>2</sup>—These are three districts of Ardashīr Khūrah, all lying in the hot region, but with some parts within the hill country, where the climate is temperate, corn being grown here. These districts come between Kāzīrūn and Nawbanjān.

*Fīrūzābād.*<sup>3</sup>—This city was called Jūr in ancient days, and the celebrated Jūrī roses came from here. In the times of the Kayānī kings of old this was a mighty city with strong fortifications. Then when [Alexander the

<sup>1</sup> The text has *jurm wa zarāfah*, and Hāfiz Abrū, in the corresponding passage, has *jurm-i-zarāfah*, "the crimes of giraffes." For this it is proposed to read *charm*, "leather," and *zarāfah* as plural of *zarf*, "a pot or vessel." But the reading must be faulty, and the translation is very uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> For Ramm or Zamm see Introduction, p. 13. Dādhīn and Davvān are mentioned by Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 112. Davvān is still the name of a village lying 2½ leagues to the north of Kāzīrūn, but neither Dādhīn nor Ramm Zavān occurs on the map; and as regards the latter place there is some confusion in the spelling of the name. Its position is given in the Itinerary as lying half-way between Ghundijān and Tawwāj, being 6 leagues distant from either place (and for the position of these two towns see below in the Itinerary). The name there is spelt Rawā-adh-Dhīwān, which is varied to Ramm-adh-Dhīwān in the list of the Kurdish Ramms (see Introduction, p. 13). Both these spellings, however, appear to be the Arabic form of the Persian Ramm Zavān (or Ravān possibly) given as a district and again below among the Castles. In the Arabic authorities there is much variety in the spelling by a shifting of the diacritical points. Iṣṭakhṛī (98, 114, 145) mentions it as the Kurdish Ramm of which Al-Husayn ibn Ṣāliḥ was chief, and spells the name variously Rawā-adh-Dhīwān and Ramm-ad-Dīwān. Again, Yāqūt (ii, 821) gives it under the heading Ramm-az-Zizān.

<sup>3</sup> The ruins are now known as Kūshk, "the Kiosk"; the older name Jūr still lingering (F.N.N. 241).

Great] he of the Two Horns invaded Fārs, at first, however much he tried, he could not succeed in taking this city. But there is near here a stream called the Burāzah River, which flows at a high level, going by the mountain-slopes. This river Alexander turned from its course, throwing it against the city [walls], and he set his army round and about until at length they obtained possession. Now the city of Fīrūzābād stands in the midst of many gorges, and all around and about its circuit there are mountains, for the which cause all the roads that lead thither have to traverse the summits of divers passes. The [diverted] river therefore soon afterwards laid the city completely under water, for the gorges filled and became as a lake, seeing that the water could find no outlet. In this condition Fīrūzābād remained for many long years, the waters continually rising, until Ardashīr the [founder of the Sassanian dynasty] came to the throne and began the conquest of the [eastern] world. And when he reached Fīrūzābād, he assembled together many engineers and sage persons in order to contrive a means of clearing away those waters. Now there was a great master among his engineers, whose name was Burāzah.<sup>1</sup> With skill he contrived to bore [the beginning of] a tunnel to carry off the waters; but first he set in the mountain side iron posts, each one like a column for size, attaching thereto huge and strong chains, and these posts were very firmly planted. Then he continued his tunnel through the flank of the mountain, he himself labouring with the workmen, until but a little part remained before the boring would get through. King Ardashīr now was brought to be present, and Burāzah the master engineer spoke, saying: "When I shall have pierced this tunnel through, the water will rush out with force, which would carry me away and also [carry away to destruction] those who are working at the boring with me. Therefore [for our safety] I have caused this great

<sup>1</sup> The name is clearly written in the MS. with all the vowels marked.



leathern sack to be made." In this Burāzah and his many workmen now took their place, and it was firmly fastened to the great chains [above described], a great number of men being appointed to haul back with all their might on the chains as soon as the tunnel should come to be bored through. These therefore, in companies, sat down to the task. Then the portion that remained unbored of the tunnel was finally carried through. And the water now began to get power, drawing after it the sack in which the engineer Burāzah and his company of workmen were sitting, and however much from above the people strained all their strength, it was of no avail, for the stream at last became so strong that it burst the chains asunder, [whereby Burāzah and all his men perished]; and the remains of those chains are still to be seen on the mountain side. When therefore after this fashion the waters had been drawn off [King Ardashīr] laid the foundations of Firūzābād as the city now exists; and its ground-plan is circular, even as though drawn with compasses. In the middle of the city, even as it were the centre point of the circle, they laid out and built a platform to which the name of Irān Girdah [or Ayyān Girdah, "the circular hall"] was given, and this the Arabs call *Ṭirbāl* ["the Tower"]. On the summit of the platform pavilions<sup>1</sup> were built, and in their midst a mighty dome, which was called Gunbad [Kirmān or Girmān]. The four walls below this dome, up to the spring of the cupola, measured in height 75 ells, and these walls were built of blocks of stone. The cupola rising above this was built of kiln-burnt bricks. Water was brought hither from the top of a mountain, 1 league distant, and carried to the height [in tubes to make] a fountain. They dug also two tanks, one called *Bām Pīr*, "the Old Owl," the other *Bām Javān*, "the Young Owl," and over each of these tanks

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *sāyahā*, "shades, shadows," i.e. "shady places", in this sense not found in the dictionaries.

they built a fire-temple. The city [of Fīrūzābād] is most pleasant to live in and a place to see; also hunting grounds abound near by; the climate is temperate, bracing, and very agreeable. Luscious fruit in plenty and of all kinds is found here; also digestible water is abundant, for there are many running streams. They have built here too a mosque for the Friday prayers, also a fine hospital; and Šāhib 'Ādil<sup>1</sup> [the Wazīr of the last Buyid prince] founded a very good Library here, the equal of which will be met with in no other place. The castle of Sahārah stands in the neighbourhood of Fīrūzābād. The people of this city are a clever folk, accustomed to business and given to good works.

*Šimkān and Hīrak.*<sup>2</sup>—Šimkān is a small town but most pleasant, and the wonder of the world, for this reason, that through its midst runs a river, spanned by a bridge, and in the one half of the city which stands on the hillside along this bank of the stream the climate is of the cold region. In this quarter there are only vineyards, producing such abundance of grapes that these fetch no price, so they [dry and] press them for the most part, making a condiment<sup>3</sup> thereof, while some being kept are left till a syrup is formed, which after boiling down, coagulates into a block that becomes hard as stone. These blocks [of grape-raisins] are made very large, and before one can eat of them they have to be soaked in two or three times their weight of water. Further, they are sold at a very cheap rate. And as to the quarter of the city which lies on the other side of the river, this is entirely of the hot region, where the

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Šimkān is now the name of the district of which the chief city, doubtless older Šimkān, is called Dizah. Hīrak, or Habrak (for the reading is uncertain), is no longer to be found on the map. According to the Itinerary it stood half-way between Šimkān (Dizah) and Kārzīn (FNN. 225).

<sup>3</sup> The terms used are '*asīr*', "squeezed" or "expressed", and '*allāqah*', "hung up," that is, "cured," "preserve."

date-palm grows, also oranges, lemons, and the like. Hirak is a large village, where there is a much venerated shrine [*ribāt*]. In Šimkān there is a mosque for the Friday prayer; the people here are [warlike, always] carrying arms.

*Maymand*.<sup>1</sup>—A small town of the hot region, where fruits of all kinds grow, especially most excellent grapes. There are running streams, and the climate is more temperate than in the other towns of the hot region. There is here a mosque for the Friday prayers.

*Hatizir*.<sup>2</sup>—A district that lies entirely in the hot region, where the date-palm grows. There is no city here, and this district lies adjacent to Irāhistān. Its people always go armed.

*Sarvistān and Kūbanjān*.<sup>3</sup>—These are two towns that lie between *Širāz* and *Pasā*. Their climate is like that of *Širāz*. There are running streams and some few gardens, producing grapes and other fruits of the cold region. The hunting-grounds here are famous, especially the mountain region of Kūbanjān. Near here is the Salt Lake [*Namakistān*],<sup>4</sup> where no fish or creature can exist for its saltness. Each town has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people here carry arms, being overbearing in their ways.

*The Sif [or Coast] Districts*.—These districts lie along the seashore. They are all of the hot region, and for the

<sup>1</sup> There is a Maymand to the east of Firūzābād (see FNN. 305). But possibly the chief town of the Nāband District is intended, lying on the coast to the east of *Širāf*, as mentioned by *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 104). This is no longer to be found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. is clear, but there is doubt as to the reading. *Iṣṭakhri* (pp. 105 and 136) apparently mentions the same place under the spelling *Jibrin*. It is wanting on the map.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarvistān* exists and Kūbanjān is presumably equivalent to the modern Kūhinjān (FNN. 221, 223). *Yāqūt* (iv, 316) gives Kūbanjān as "a village of the *Širāz* (District)". Probably it is identical with al-*Ūsbanjān*, which *Iṣṭakhri* (p. 136) mentions, coupling it with *Sarvistān*.

<sup>4</sup> Not marked on the map.

most part the inhabitants are Arabs. The climate here is extremely unhealthy. The best-known of these coast districts are the two called respectively the Sif of the People of Abū Zuhayr and the 'Umarāh Sif.<sup>1</sup> In neither district is there any town with a Friday mosque, and nothing is grown here but dates.

*Lāghir and Kaharjān.*<sup>2</sup>—These are districts lying near Kārzīn. They are of the hot region, and the climate is unhealthy. Dates are grown here. The people are all highwaymen, and in neither district is there any town with a mosque for the Friday prayer.

*Kurān and Irāhistān.*<sup>3</sup>—Both the Irāhistān District and Kurān lie in the desert country, and Kurān is counted as of Sirāf. Its climate is so extremely torrid that only men who are native-born can stay here by reason of this excessive heat during the summer. There are no running streams nor underground channels. Their corn-lands lack irrigation entirely, and no fruit is grown here excepting only dates. Further, in their plantations the date-palms do not stand on the level ground, for by reason of the lack of water, and that these may not perish from the drought, they dig in the soil a great trench, as deep down as the date-palm is high, and the palm-trees are planted in the bottom of this trench, so that only their very tops appear above the ground-level. Then during the winter these trenches are filled by the rains with water, [which sinks in]. and so all the year round the palms get moisture. The dates

<sup>1</sup> From the accounts of the Arab geographers the Abū Zuhayr Coast lay near Sirāf, while the 'Umarāh Coast was opposite the Island of Qays. Neither name now is found on the map.

<sup>2</sup> The town of Lāghir exists near the bend of the Thakān River, 6 leagues north-west of Khunj (FNN. 198). Kaharjān is no longer to be found, but Iṣṭakhri mentions it as upon the Thakān River (which he calls the Shādkān), Kaharjān coming below Nāband and above Dasht Dastaqān on the sea-coast (Ist. 106, IH. 191).

<sup>3</sup> Neither Kurān nor the Irāhistān District is to be found on the present map. Kurān, however, is given in the Itineraries as situated 8 leagues from Lāghir and four days march from Sirāf.

are of rare excellence. Hence it is a saying "Where is it that the date-palms grow in a pit?" and the answer is "In Irāhistān". In this country near every village there stands out in the desert a fort, for all the people here are footpads, and everyone carries arms seeing that each man seeks to rob his neighbour and to shed his blood. When a man here is about to go out as highwayman he will take threshed corn, with some dry bread crumbled, in a wallet, and in a night and a day will cover 20 leagues of the road, and so accomplish his villainy. Further, the people here are always in revolt against the Government, since no army can stay in these parts for more than the three months of the springtime, for they cannot hold out the winter here by reason of the rains, with the consequent lack of fodder [for their beasts], nor during the summer by reason of the heat. Nevertheless, in the days of the Buyid supremacy they were brought under subjection, and for a time forced to obey authority; and during the reign of 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah 10,000 of their men served in his army as soldiers. Their chief at this time was one of the name of Hābi.<sup>1</sup> Then after the days of 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah they again revolted, and none of them could be got to pay any tribute until recently, indeed, when the Atabeg Chāuli by force of arms has become master in their territories.

*Najīram and Hūrashī.*<sup>2</sup>—Najīram is a small town and Hūrashī a village, both being of the dependencies of Sīrāf, and lying in the very hot region.

*Huzū and Sāvīyah.*<sup>3</sup>—These, with some other districts,

<sup>1</sup> The Paris MS. gives the name as Jābi; the corresponding passage in Hāfiz Abrū has Jāni; he is apparently not mentioned by Ibn-al-Athīr.

<sup>2</sup> Spelt Hūshī for the second time, and Khūrashī in the Paris MS. It is not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Najīram, according to Iṣṭakhṛī (p. 34), lay to the north of Sīrāf. Neither names now occur on the map, but Najīram is probably identical with the present harbour of Bandar Dayyur in the Dashtī District (FNN. 217).

<sup>3</sup> Huzū is probably the modern Chīrū, in the Shīb Kūh sub-district of Lāristān, lying 10 leagues west of Chāruk. In Iṣṭakhṛī (p. 163) the name occurs variously as Sīrū, Sūrū, or Shāhrū. Sāvīyah may be

are of the coast-lands that belong to the Island of Qays, being under the rule of the Amīr Kaysh. They all lie adjacent to the hot region of the Kirmān province.

The islands that belong to this district of Ardashīr Khūrah are these: the Island of Lār, the Island of Afzūnah, and the Island of Qays; and the Island of Qays is the chief among them all. The description of these and of the other islands [of the Persian Gulf] will be given in the chapter which the author has written describing the seas, and which will be found on a later page, wherefore there is no need to detail them here. [It is, however, wanting.]

#### THE SHAPUR KHURAH DISTRICT

This district took its name from Shāpūr, son of King Ardashīr founder [of the Sassanian dynasty]; and the central city of the district is Bishāvbūr; this with the other towns and sub-districts being as follows.

*Bishāvbūr*.<sup>1</sup>—The Arabs wrote the name Bishābūr, it having originally been Bi-Shābūr, and then to lighten the pronunciation the *Bi* was dropped, so that finally it has come now to be called Shāpūr. In the most ancient days a city was founded here by King Tahmūrath, at a time when there was no other city in all Fārs excepting only Ištākhr, and the name [of Shāpūr town] was then called Dīn Dilā. When Alexander the Great appeared in Fārs, he laid this town in ruins, so that nought remained standing thereof. Then when the kingdom had come to the hands of Shāpūr he for the second time founded it, and brought all its buildings to completion, giving to the new city his own name. Indeed, to every city that King Shāpūr founded, he gave the same his own name, that his memory might thus be kept in mind; and this was a clerical error, for which we should read Tāvūnah, the name of a village lying 1 league to the westward of Chāruk (FNN. 289).

<sup>1</sup> Modern Shāpūr (FNN. 247). Written variously in the MS. Bishāvbūr and in the Paris copy Bi-Shāpūr, and in error Nishāpūr with other variants. The name originally was Bih-Shāpūr, "the Good Thing of King Sapor."



the city of Bishāpūr. The climate here is that of the hot region; and by reason that on the north side it is shut in [by hills] the town is unhealthy and damp. The water supply is from a great stream that is called the Bishāpūr River. It is a very large river, but seeing that there are here many rice-fields, its water is noxious and unwholesome. There are, however, in this district so many orchards of fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, such as date-palms, orange, shaddock, and lemon-trees, that fruit here fetches no price; and those who pass by the road even fail to pluck it. There are also aromatic flowers in great abundance, such as water-lilies, the narcissus, violets, and jasmine; further, they produce much silk here, for mulberry-trees grow luxuriantly. Then honey and wax are cheap, both in this city and in Kāzīrūn. Of late years Bi-Shāpūr has fallen much to ruin through the tyranny of Abu Sa'd.<sup>1</sup> Now, however, since the establishment of the present Saljūq government its buildings are all being restored. It has a mosque for the Friday prayers, and the people are intelligent.

*Jirrah.*<sup>2</sup>—Called in Persian Girrah. It is a small town, having a warm climate. Its water is from a stream that is known as the Girrah River, and this takes its rise in the Māṣaram District. This town produces nothing but rice—which pays the land-tax<sup>3</sup>—dates, and corn. The people for the most part go armed. There is a mosque here for the Friday prayers. The district called Mūr-i-Jirrah<sup>4</sup> is of this neighbourhood.

<sup>1</sup> Of the *Shabānkārah*; see Introduction, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The district of Jirrah exists, and the town of that name is probably to be identified with the modern *Ishfāyiqān* (FNN. 185). For the Māṣaram District see below in the Itineraries.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. is without diacritical points, and in *ruzz-i-kharājī* the first word may, instead of *ruzz*, "rice," be read as *zar*, "gold" (i.e. money), or *raz*, "grapes." The translation is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Mūr of Jirrah no longer exists, but 4½ leagues to the north of Kāzīrūn there is the village of Mūrdak, which may have a connexion with the name (FNN. 255).

*Ghundijān*.<sup>1</sup>—This is known as *Dasht Bārī* in Persian. It is a small town of the hot region, and its water is from a single brackish well, there being no other source in the place. No corn is grown here. There is a mosque in the town for the Friday prayer, and many pious men were natives of this place. There are now many shoemakers and weavers living here.

*Khisht and Kumārij*.<sup>2</sup>—Two small towns lying in the hill country of the very hot region. Innumerable date-palms grow here, but no other fruit-trees. There are some running streams, but the water of these is warm and not wholesome to drink. The corn crops here sometimes fail entirely, but at other times are abundant.<sup>3</sup> The people of the place carry arms, and for the most part they are robbers.

*Anburān and Bāsh̄t Qūṭā*.<sup>4</sup>—These places lie contiguous to *Nawbanjān*. *Anburān* is a small town, of which a number of pious folk are natives. The climate is temperate, and there are many running streams. *Bāsh̄t Qūṭā* is a district lying in the cold region of the mountain lands.

*Junbad Mallaghān*.<sup>5</sup>—This is a small town which stands in its own district. The climate is hot, and there are many running streams. Fruit is grown, also aromatic plants. There is a castle here, among other neighbouring castles that are well fortified and celebrated. The air in this castle is so cool that [stores of] wheat can be kept here without damage, and they have made good cisterns

<sup>1</sup> No town of *Ghundijān* now exists, but from its position as given in the Itinerary modern Jamilah probably occupies its site (FNN. 195).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Baḥs*, "lacking," and *bāryāb*, with the sense, not given in the dictionaries, of "abundant." These words occur again below.

<sup>4</sup> *Bāsh̄t* is now the chief town of the *Bāwī* sub-district in *Kūh Gilūyah* (FNN. 271). This probably marks the site of *Anburān*, mentioned also by *Istakh̄rī* (p. 110), but the names *Anburān* and *Qūṭā* are now unknown, and the Arab geographers make no mention of *Bāsh̄t Qūṭā*.

<sup>5</sup> The modern *Dū Gunbadān* (Two Domes), lying 8 leagues west of modern *Bāsh̄t*.

for water. There is a mosque for the Friday prayer in the town.

*Tir Murdān and Jūyikān.*<sup>1</sup>—These are two districts wherein are many large villages but no town. Of villages there are Kharrārah, Dūdman, and Dih Gawz [Nut Village]. All these districts lie among broken rocky ground, with stony ascents and descents like those in the Kharrāqān [District in Persian 'Irāq], though here the country is rougher and the roads steeper. The climate is of the cold region and good. On all sides there are orchards, with fruit of every kind; more especially groves of nut-trees, and in such numbers as to be beyond count, nuts being carried into Shirāz and the surrounding districts from here. Honey, too, is abundant. Now all the hills here, with their ascents and descents, are everywhere sown for corn crops. Some, where the hillside is steep, lack for water, but the valleys are well irrigated, for there are numerous running brooks. The village of Kharrārah [which means "humming"] is so named because near by this village a stream falls into a deep gorge, where it makes a great noise [as of humming], which in the Arabic tongue is called Kharrār-al-Mā ["the Humming of the Water"]. Abū Naṣr, the father of Bā Jūl,<sup>2</sup> and who left so many descendants, came originally from Tir Murdān. All the people of this district go armed, and for the most part they are bandits and highwaymen by night. Further, there are excellent hunting-grounds here.

*Ṣarām and Bāzrang.*<sup>3</sup>—These are two districts lying

<sup>1</sup> Tir Murdān exists, and Jūyikān, which Iṣṭakhṛī writes Jūyikhān (p. 110), is modern Chawgān, lying 4 leagues east of Fahliyān (FNN. 303, 304). Kharrārah (position given in the Itineraries), Dūdman, and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) are not to be found on the modern maps, for this Dūdman cannot be the present village of that name lying 1 league south-east of Shirāz.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain, and this Abū Naṣr is not mentioned in Ibn-al-Athīr.

<sup>3</sup> The modern district is called Churām, of which the chief town is called Tall-Gird, "Round Hill," lying 10 leagues north-east of

between Zīr [or Ziz] and Sumayram. The climate is that of the cold region, for the districts stand high in the hill country, with torrents of water and many running streams. From year's end to year's end snow is never long absent from the mountains here, and there are many good hunting-grounds. The source of the Shirīn River is in the Bāzrang District. The chief town of this region is Ṣarām. Most of the men here are muleteers.

*Sīmtakht*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a district of the very cold region lying near Ṣarām and Bāzrang. There are many running streams here.

*Khullār*.<sup>2</sup>—A large village where they quarry the millstones which are used throughout the greater part of the province of Fārs, for the stone here is of excellent quality. The curious part is that in all Fārs they grind their corn with millstones from this village, but when the people thereof have to grind their own corn they go to some other village to do so, for in their own place there is no stream [to turn a mill], and the springs even are very scanty in their water supply, on which the people have to depend for drinking. Except for these millstones the place produces nothing; there is neither corn nor fruit grown here, and they look to the quarrying of these stones for their means of living, whereby too they are enabled to pay taxes to the Treasury to the amount of 700 dinārs yearly.

*Khumāyijān and Dih 'Alī*.<sup>3</sup>—These are two districts, Bihbahān. The name of Bāzrang, frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, has disappeared from the map, as also is wanting the town of Zīr, which Muqaddasī (p. 389) writes Ziz. Sumayram, now called Samīram, lies 4 leagues to the south-west of Isfadrān (FNN. 220, 273).

<sup>1</sup> Spelling most uncertain, and apparently no longer to be found on the map. Variants may be read Simbakht, Salimsat, Salīmnaḥast, etc.; and it is probably the place given in *Iṣṭakhrī* (p. 113) as As-Saljān (with many variants).

<sup>2</sup> *Khullār* lies 9 leagues north-west of *Shirāz* and 5 leagues beyond *Guyūm* (Juwaym) (FNN. 191).

<sup>3</sup> *Dih 'Alī*, now more generally called *Dālī*, lies 4½ leagues south-east of *Ardakān*. The name of *Khumāyijān*, mentioned by *Iṣṭakhrī* (p. 111)

and [Dih 'Alī] the chief town has a mosque for the Friday prayers. The climate is cold, and there are many walnut and pomegranate trees here, also much honey and wax comes from these districts, which lie in the neighbourhood of Tir Murdān and near by Baydā. The people generally go armed; they are for the most part muleteers. In the neighbourhood are excellent hunting-grounds.

*Kāzirūn and its District.*—The original seat of Kāzirūn was at [the three villages called] Nawdar, Darist, and Rāhbān, and the city was first founded by Ṭahmūrath. King Shāpūr, in later times, built greatly here, making of Kāzirūn an outlying part of Bishābūr. The climate is hot, like that indeed of Bishāvūr, and all the water they drink has to be taken from wells, for there are no running streams, only the three underground water-channels [of the villages above-mentioned]. Their corn-lands entirely lack irrigation and depend on the rains. The city of Kāzirūn lies in ruins, but the farms round about are populous, and their homesteads are not [mere cabins] like those of other hamlets in these parts, but are strongly built houses, well fortified, as a defence against the Shabānkārah [Kurds], who are numerous throughout this district. Each farmstead here stands separate one from another, and they are not built together [in groups of villages]. The cloths called *Tūzi* [originally coming from Tawwaj] which they make here are woven from the fibre of the flax-plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw these into a tank full of water, leaving the fibre loose until it has rotted. It is next gathered up, the fibre being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen thread is washed in the water of the Rāhbān water-channel; and though the water here is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is

as a district, but with no town large enough to possess a mosque for the Friday prayers, has disappeared from the map.

washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes white. Now, this Rāhbān water-channel is the property of the royal Treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the Amīr, the Treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave the cloths under the orders of the Treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the Treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloths, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the Kāzīrūnī cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kāzīrūnī broker was merely asked for and the bale would then be sold at a profit without being opened [for examination]. Thus it often happened that a load of Kāzīrūnī bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest all confidence is gone, for the goods with the Treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kāzīrūn. This fraud was especially common during the reign of the Amīr Abū Sa'd,<sup>1</sup> whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all. If, however, this evil state of things could be changed, much wealth would still accrue from this manufacture. Further, in addition to the revenues to be derived from the Kāzīrūnī cloths, which belong to the house of the Amīr, there are the land-tax and the customs, both of which would increase greatly under a just and stable government. In various of the townships of Kāzīrūn there are mosques for the Friday prayers. The people, however, are covetous and needy;

<sup>1</sup> Of the Shabānkārah; see Introduction, p. 12.



further, they are a slanderous folk. In all these parts there are places where [a criminal] may take refuge, as it were in a *Harīm* [or Sanctuary], and of such is [the shrine] of *Shaykh* Abū Ishāq *Shīrāzī*, whom Allah sanctify! Among the populous districts of Kāzīrūn are Mūr and *Shitashgān*.<sup>1</sup>

*Nawbanjān*<sup>2</sup> and *Sha'b Bavvān*.—Nawbanjān in former times was a very great and beautiful city, but during the misrule of Abū Sa'd of Kāzīrūn it was more than once taken by storm, being sacked and burnt, so that even the great mosque was then destroyed by fire. In this state of ruin it remained for many years, being but a lair for lions and wolves, a place of ravenous beasts and their prey; its population was scattered abroad, and its people perished in foreign lands. When, however, the Atabeg Chāuli arrived in Fārs, and the province was rid of Abū Sa'd, he began to rebuild the city, and it may now be hoped that under the stable government [of the Saljūqs] its prosperity will be restored. The climate here is that of the hot region but temperate. It has many running streams. Fruits of all kinds grow here, also aromatic plants in abundance.

The Vale of Sha'b Bavvān<sup>3</sup> lies in the neighbourhood of Nawbanjān; and it may be thus described. It is a great valley enclosed between two ranges of mountains,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  leagues in length by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leagues across. Its climate is that of the cold region, none better anywhere. Villages one after another extend along the valley, and a great river flows down the middle part thereof, so that no place is cooler or more healthy to live in. Further, there are many excellent springs everywhere about, and from the head of the valley to its foot, all down its length and across it, there are fruit-trees growing everywhere, so that from their shade

<sup>1</sup> Probably Mūr of Jirrah, see above under Jirrah. *Shitashgān* is unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Nawbandagān (FNN. 303).

<sup>3</sup> See FNN. 303.

the sunlight never falls upon the ground. The fruit here is of all kinds, and very excellent in quality. Should a man walk from one end of the valley to the other, the sunshine will nowhere fall on him; and from one end of the year to the other the snow remains on the summits of the mountains that lie on either hand. It has been said by wise men that there are four Earthly Paradises, to wit, the Ghawṭah [Garden-lands] of Damascus, Sughd [Sogdiana] of Khurāsān, [this Valley of] Sh'ab Bavvān, and lastly the Meadow of Shidān<sup>1</sup>; by which they mean that these four places just mentioned are the loveliest and pleasantest places of the whole earth. There are here in the neighbourhood, besides this valley of Sh'ab Bavvān, many other districts, both in the hill country and in the plains, which are well populated, fertile, and rich, with running streams. The White Castle—Qal'ah Sapid—stands at the distance of 1 league from Nawbanjān, and the description of the same will be given later in the section relating to the Castles. All the district round Sh'ab Bavvān is of the hill country, and round Nawbanjān there are limitless hunting-grounds. The people of Nawbanjān are a discreet folk, with an aptitude for politeness.

*Bilād Shābūr*.<sup>2</sup>—This countryside lies between the Fārs and Khūzistān provinces. In olden times it was very populous, but it now has fallen to ruin. Its climate is temperate though of the hot region, and there are many running streams.

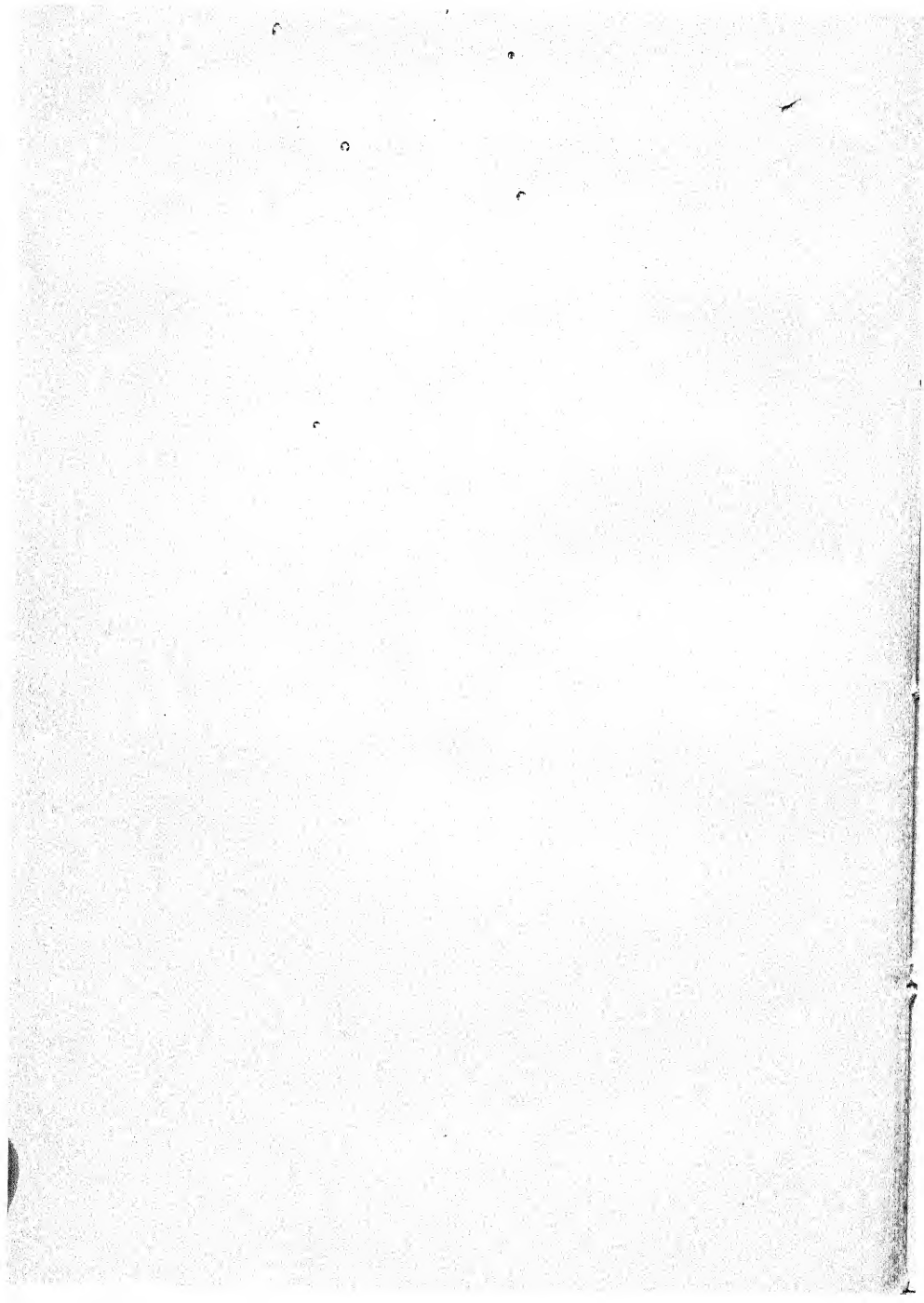
*Zir and Kūh Jilūyah*.<sup>3</sup>—The Jilūyah Mountain is a hill

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called the Meadow-land of Shidān and mentioned below, but its situation, unfortunately, is nowhere given.

<sup>2</sup> "The Country of Sapor" is still found on the map (FNN. 266). According to Muqaddasī its chief town was called Jūmah (the Township), and Hinduwān or Hindijān was within its limits (Muq. 422, Ist. 113).

<sup>3</sup> Kūh Jilūyah is still the name for the great province, with many sub-districts, occupying all the mountain region to the north-west of Fārs (FNN. 262). For Zir or Ziz see above under Šarām.

district with many lands, and its chief town is Zîr. The climate here is cold; there are abundant running streams and numerous fine villages. During the recent times of disorder, and especially when the Assassins—and may Allah cause them to perish!—held sway in the land, all this district fell greatly to ruin. Fruit orchards are numerous, and in Zîr there is a mosque for the Friday prayer. This district lies not far distant from Sumayram, and there are fine hunting-grounds within its borders.



## CHAPTER III

### THE QUBAD KHURAH DISTRICT

*Arrajān*.<sup>1</sup>—This city was first founded by King Qubād, the father of Chosroes Anūshirwān. It was a great city, with many dependencies, but during the troublous times when the Assassins held sway in the land it fell to ruin. It has a warm climate, and the city lies adjacent to the Thakān Bridge, where it spans the great river called the Nahr Ṭāb, which flows down from the neighbourhood of Sumayram. Further, many other streams flow past near here, with much water, whereby the land in this neighbourhood is most productive, growing all kinds of fruit. Groves of date-palms and of pomegranates abound, especially of the kind called *mīlasi*,<sup>2</sup> which is most excellent. There are also many aromatic plants. The districts round and about Arrajān are very numerous, and a mosque for the Friday prayers stands in the city.<sup>3</sup>

*Jallādjān, Niv, and Dayr*.<sup>4</sup>—These are all districts of Arrajān, with climate and general conditions the like thereto, so that it is needless to say more. Of this district too is the hamlet called Chahār Dih, "Four Villages."

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Arrajān lie near a place called Sih Gunbadān ("the Three Domes"), a short distance to the north of Bihbahān (FNN. 275, 276).

<sup>2</sup> Variant *malisi*, a name not given in the dictionaries.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. here repeats the text in the opposite column, and apparently a paragraph has been omitted.

<sup>4</sup> In one place spelt Jallājān. None of these three places, nor Chahār Dih, now appear on the map, but they are mentioned by the Arab geographers. Niv (printed without points) is given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 111), who names Dayr Ayyūb and Dayr 'Omar (Iṣṭ. 112, 113) as of this region.

*Khabs, Furzuk, and Hindījān*.<sup>1</sup>—These are districts lying between Arrajān and the inner districts of Fārs. *Khabs* was a post for the customs, and all these places in climate and general conditions exactly resemble Arrajān in all points.

*Rīshahr*.<sup>2</sup>—A small town lying on the seashore, near by to the castle of the Amīr Firāmurz ibn Handāb.<sup>3</sup> The climate here is extremely hot, so that the men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. By reason of the dampness and the unwholesome climate no one who is not a native of the place can stay out the summer here; all others go up to Diz Kilāt<sup>4</sup> and the castles that belong to the Amīr Firāmurz, and there they remain [during the hot months]. In this district nothing is to be had except sea-borne goods that are brought hither in ships, for nothing except fish, dates, and *Rīshahrī* flax is to be come by in this place. The people are almost entirely occupied with the sea trade, but they have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature. The town stands on the frontier line between the Arrajān District and *Khūzistān*. The men here are honest, occupying

<sup>1</sup> Common variants are *Jins*, also *Jis* in place of *Habs* or *Khabs*. Neither this place nor *Furzuk* occurs on the map, but they appear in the Itinerary. *Hindījān*, which Muqaddasī (p. 422) writes *Hinduwān*, is now known as *Bandar Hindīyān* (FNN. 239). See above under *Bilād Shābūr*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably to be identified with the modern *Zaydūn* (FNN. 278), for this *Rīshahr* cannot be the small town of that name lying  $1\frac{1}{2}$  leagues and to the south of *Būshahr*, though this last is stated to be "one of the ancient cities of Fārs" (FNN. 210).

<sup>3</sup> The name of his father is uncertain. It may be read *Nadāb*, *Hadhāb*, or *Badāb*. Not given in *Ibn-al-Athir*.

<sup>4</sup> The MS. may be read *Diz Kilāb* or *Gulāb*, and there exists a *Qal'ah Gulāb* or *Kilāb*, this castle standing 6 leagues south of *Bihbahān* and 4 east of *Zaydūn* (FNN. 278, 336).



themselves with their own affairs, but they have been mishandled by one tyrant after another, fate having been against them. Further, some of the districts near by are far more populous than that round Rishahr.

*Jannābā.*<sup>1</sup>—A small town lying on the seashore, and in Persian they call it Ganfah, which signifies "Stinking Water". Now, a city that has "Stinking Water" for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and therefore there is no occasion to speak of its condition. Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place, and all that can be said is that it lies on the road of one going from Mahrūbān to Sirāf.

*Sīnīz.*<sup>2</sup>—A little town lying on the seashore. There is here a small fort. The place lies between Mahrūbān and Jannābā, and they weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and these are known as Sīnīzī stuffs. They, however, do not wear well. Nothing else is produced excepting dates and oil for lamps. The climate is good.

*Mahrūbān,*<sup>3</sup> *with its District.*—Mahrūbān is a place lying so much on the seashore that the waves of the sea beat on the houses of the town. It has a warm, damp, unwholesome climate, worse even than that of Rishahr. It is a seaport that all ships come into that sail either from Fārs going towards Khūzistān, or that set out by sea from Baṣrah and Khūzistān. Likewise all the ships from the sea that have cargoes from, or for, the districts inland come and go from Mahrūbān, whereby its custom-dues from these ships are very considerable. Except for dates they grow no fruit here. They breed sheep, however, in great numbers, and likewise goats; also they raise calves, which are for size like those they breed in Baṣrah, for it

<sup>1</sup> The ruins known as Gunāvah lie somewhat to the north of Bandar Rīg (FNN. 209).

<sup>2</sup> The name of Sīnīz has disappeared from the map; its site is probably near modern Bandar Daylam, the chief town of the Qirāvi District (FNN. 279).

Now written Māh Rūbān (FNN. 239).

is reported that some weigh as much as 80 to 100 *rāṭl* in weight, or even more.<sup>1</sup> Linseed and flax are grown here abundantly, being exported to neighbouring parts. In the town there is a mosque for the Friday prayers. The people of Mahrūbān are weak in character.

The Islands which belong to this district of Qubād Khūrah are as follows: Jazīrah Hangām, Jazīrah Khārik, Jazīrah Ram [or Dam], and Jazīrah Balūr.<sup>2</sup>

The description of the towns and districts of Fārs being completed, we shall now proceed to notice all the great rivers and the lakes, and then the meadow-lands and such castles as are still in good repair. These, therefore, are the great and celebrated rivers other than those of which a part only [lies in the Fārs province].<sup>3</sup>

#### RIVERS

*Nahr Tāb*.—This river takes its rise in the neighbourhood of Sumayram,<sup>4</sup> increasing in size till it reaches Arrajān, where it passes under the bridge called Pūl-i-Thakān. Then it waters the district of Rīshahr and flows into the sea near Siniz.

*Nahr Khwābdān*.<sup>5</sup>—The source of this river is at Jūyikān. It waters the district round Nawbanjān, and

<sup>1</sup> The Baghdād *raṭl* was under three-quarters of a pound avoirdupois: hence 4 to 5 stone-weight.

<sup>2</sup> An Island of Hangām (FNN. 318) lies to the south of the Long Island (Jazīrah Ṭawīl), near Hurmuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, but this Hangām Island could not be counted as of the Qubād Khūrah district. The Island of Khārik is well known (FNN. 315), but Ram (or Dam) and Balūr cannot be identified.

<sup>3</sup> In FNN., pp. 322-30, an alphabetical list of 109 of the rivers and streams of Fārs is given. Each of these now for the most part takes its name, section by section, from the district through which it flows; hence one river during its course goes by many names, and the 109 enumerated do not stand for that number of distinct streams.

<sup>4</sup> The Tāb-Kurdistan-Jarrāhi River does not rise near Sumayram, for the upper basin of the Shustar River lies in between. Furthermore, its mouth now lies far to the north of Siniz, the Shīrīn River flowing down to the sea here in the intervening country.

<sup>5</sup> The Zuhrah-Fahliyan River.

then flows through Jallādjan until it joins the River Shirīn, by which its waters reach the sea.

*Nahr Jirrah*.<sup>1</sup>—This river rises in Māsaram, and it waters the district of Naḥast Masjan, thence passing on it waters Jirrah and its district, also part of the Ghundijān District. Beyond this it joins the Bishāpūr River, and thus its waters reach the sea.

*Nahr Burāzah*.<sup>2</sup>—The Burāzah River is that of Firūzābād, and its source is at Khunayfghān. It irrigates Firūzābād, with its district, and then joins the Thakān River, by which its waters reach the sea. This river has its name from Burāzah, the great engineer, who drained the [lake] off from round and about the city of Firūzābād [as described above].

*Nahr Kur* [Cyrus River].<sup>3</sup>—This river rises in the neighbourhood of Kallār, and it is a rebellious stream that will irrigate no lands unless a dam has been thrown across it to raise the level, and thus enable the waters to be led over the surface of the soil. Now the dams that have been built across its stream are the following: The Rāmjird Dam<sup>4</sup> is of very ancient construction, and it gave irrigation to all the villages of the Rāmjird District. It had, however, fallen to ruin, and has been restored recently by the Atabeg Chāulī, who has given it the name of Fakhrīstān [after himself, he holding the title of Fakhr-ad-Dawlah]. Next comes the ‘Aqūdī Dam,<sup>5</sup> the like of which, as is well known, exists nowhere else in the whole

<sup>1</sup> The Dālīki-Jamīlah River. Māsaram is the name of a village in this district (spelt now with a *sin* in place of *šad*, FNN. 281). The spelling Naḥast Masjan is uncertain; possibly it is a clerical error for Nāhiyat Sittajān, “the Sittajān District,” near the head-waters of the Thakān River (see below in the Itinerary). There is, however, a village in this region still called Dih Masghān, or Masqān, lying 1 league south-east of Shikuft (FNN. 281), which may be the place indicated if the reading be taken as Masjan.

<sup>2</sup> The Dihram-Firūzābād-Hunayfghān River.

<sup>3</sup> The Kāmīrūz-Rāmjird-Kīrbāl River.

<sup>4</sup> FNN. 325.

<sup>5</sup> FNN. 257, the Band-i-Amīr.

world. To describe it it must be known that the Kirbāl District [which lies round and about] originally was a desert plain without water. But 'Adud-ad-Dawlah seeing this opined that if a dam were built here the waters of the River Kur would work wonders on this desert land. He therefore brought together engineers and workmen, and expended great sums of money to make side canals to lead off the waters of the river from the right and the left bank. Then he [paved the river-bed] above and below the dam, with a mighty weir [*shādurwān*] constructed of blocks of stone set in cement. Next he built the dam itself with [stones set in] tempered cement and sifted sand, so that even an iron tool could not scratch it and never would it be burst asunder. The summit of the dam was so broad that two horsemen could ride abreast across it without the water touching them, for to carry this off sluices were made. Thus, finally, the whole of the district of Upper Kirbāl received its irrigation by means of this dam. The Band-i-Qaṣṣār<sup>1</sup> [the Fullers' Dam] had been built of old to water the district of Lower Kirbāl, and it too had fallen out of use; but the Atabeg Chāuli has likewise restored this to working order, and [some distance below it] the River Kur flows out into the Lake of Bakhtigān.

*Nahr Masin*.<sup>2</sup>—The source of this stream lies in the hill country near Sumayram and Sīmtakht. It flows down to join the River Tāb.

*Nahr Shīrīn*<sup>3</sup> [the Sweet-water River].—This river has its source on the frontier of the Bāzrang District, and it flows past Gunbad Mallaghān, giving water to many districts, for besides that of Gunbad Mallaghān it irrigates

<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Fayḍābād Dam (FNN. 257).

<sup>2</sup> The Armish and Zard streams. Its source is much to the south-west of Sumayram.

<sup>3</sup> The Shīrīn, Sar Faryāb River. Whatever it may have done in the past, the mouth of the Shīrīn is now at a place on the Persian Gulf, lying far to the north of Sīnīz and Jannābā.

certain of the lands of Arrajān, finally flowing out into the sea between Sinīz and Jannābā.

*Nahr Bishāpūr*.<sup>1</sup>—The source of this river lies in the mountain land about Bishāpūr. It waters the city of Bishāpūr and its district, as likewise the homesteads of Khisht and Dih Mālik, and falls into the sea between Jannābā and the Māndistān District.

*Nahr Thakān*.<sup>2</sup>—The source of this river is at a village called Jatrūyah [or Chatrūyah], which same is a well-known village with its district belonging to the Māsaram sub-district lying round about Shirāz, all of which lands this stream waters. From here it flows on, passing in turn Kavār, Khabr, Šimkān, Kārzin, Qir, Abzar, and Lāghir, giving water for irrigation to each in turn, and finally irrigating part of the district round Sirāf. In its last reach the river passes the village of Thakān, from which same it takes its name. Then finally it flows out into the sea between Najīram and Sirāf, and in all the province of Fārs there is no stream that is more bountiful for irrigation purposes than is this Thakān River.

*Nahr Purvāb*.<sup>3</sup>—The source of the river is at a village called Purvāb. This is a most blessed river. Most of the district of Marvdasht is irrigated by its waters, and it flows to join the River Kur. This, therefore, as given above, is the description of the greater and most celebrated rivers of Fārs, and besides them there are many other streams and rivulets of lesser size, but these cannot be noticed lest the matter run to too great length.

<sup>1</sup> The Zirah, Khisht, and Shāpūr River. Dih Mālik is no longer marked on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary.

<sup>2</sup> This is the very long river of many names, of which the first portion is now known as the Qārah Aghāch ("Black Wood"), and the last reach as the Mand River of Māndistān. Jatrūyah is possibly identical with the village of Bāndhūyah, lying 6 leagues north of Shikuft and a little south of the village of Māsaram (FNN. 280). The village of Thakān is probably represented by Kākī, the chief town of Māndistān (FNN. 214).

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise written Pulvār. The Purvāb-Kamīn River. The village of Purvāb no longer exists.

## SEAS AND LAKES

In regard to the seas and lakes of Fārs, the Persian Gulf [*Baḥr Fārs*, otherwise called] the Sea of Fārs, is an arm of the Great Sea, which best is known as the Green Sea, being also called the Circumambient Ocean. On the shores of the Green Sea lie the lands of China, Sind and India, 'Omān, 'Aden, Zanzibar, and Baṣrah with diverse other districts; and each particular arm of the Green Sea bears the special name of the province whose lands lie on its shores. Thus we have [one arm called] the Sea of Fārs, another the Sea of 'Omān, and then the Sea of Baṣrah, or the like; hence it comes that the arm [washing the coast of Fārs] is known as the Sea of Fārs.

[And now as to the lakes of Fārs, they are as follows.]

*Buḥayrah Dašt Arzin*<sup>1</sup> [the Lake of the Plain of the Wild-almond].—This is a sweet-water lake, and when there has been much rain it is very full, but when there has been lack of rain the lake dries up almost entirely, hardly any water remaining. It measures 3 leagues round and about.

*Buḥayrah Bakhtigān*.<sup>2</sup>—This lake lies surrounded by many well-cultivated lands. Such are those surrounding the towns of Ābādah, *Khayrah*, *Nayrīz*, and *Khabraz*; further, all these districts lie at no great distance from the lake shore. The waters of the lake are salt, and the circumference of the same is 20 leagues.

*Buḥayrah Māhālūyah*.<sup>3</sup>—This lake lies between *Shīrāz* and *Sarvistān*. Its waters are salt. All the streams from near *Shīrāz* and its district flow into this lake. Its size round and about is 12 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> More correctly spelt *Arzhin* or *Arjin*, *Dašt Arjin* being now the name of a neighbouring village (FNN. 280).

<sup>2</sup> FNN. 321. The places mentioned here have all been noticed above.

<sup>3</sup> The name is now spelt *Mahārlū*, and it is also known as *Buḥayrah Namak*, "the Salt Lake" (FNN. 322).



*Buḥayrah Darkhwīd*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a small lake, and a stream flows out of it that is called the Barvāt River.

*Buḥayrah Mūr*.<sup>2</sup>—A small lake lying between Kāzīrūn and [the district of] Mūr-i-Jirrah. It measures 2 leagues in circumference.

#### MEADOW-LANDS

The most celebrated Meadow-lands of Fārs are these.

*Marghezār Ūrd*.<sup>3</sup>—This is a very rich meadow-land, of the cold region. From end to end it has springs of fresh-water and populous villages, and of these last are the hamlets of Bajjah and Ṭaymurjān. There are others too, and their lands are the property of the villages, though they have to pay the Land-tax to the government. This meadow-land measures 10 leagues in the length by 5 across.

*Marghezār Sīkān*. — This meadow-land lies between Shīrāz and Kavār. It is a very pleasant place, and there is here a great mass of standing water, near which is a forest abounding in lions. The length of this meadow-land is 5 leagues by 3 across.<sup>4</sup>

*Marghezār Dasht Arzin*.<sup>5</sup>—This meadow-land lies beside the Arzin Lake; there is here a forest where lions are found. The length of the meadow-land is 10 leagues by 1 across.

<sup>1</sup> The Darkhwīd Lake and River are mentioned by the Arabgeographers. They do not give any other name to the river, and the reading Barvāt is uncertain. The MS. may read Purvāb, which is, however, inadmissible. The lake appears to have occupied the position of the present swamp, called Sarāb Bahram, at the source of the Nūrābād River (FNN. 302, 303).

<sup>2</sup> The Mūr (in error often given by the MSS. as Mūz) Lake is that now known as Fāmūr, or Daryāchah Parīshān, lying east of Kāzīrūn (FNN. 322). Mūr-i-Jirrah has already been mentioned, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> For Ūrd see above, p. 21. Ṭaymurjān is no longer to be found on the map. The name may be read Ṭamīrjān; it is probably to be identified with Timāristān, which Yāqūt (i, 197, 908) gives as the chief town of Ūrd.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Shīkān is now unknown.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 68, n. 1.

*Marḡhzār Dārābjird.*—This is a small meadow-land, measuring only 3 leagues in the length by 1 in the breadth.

*Marḡhzār Qālī.*<sup>1</sup>—This meadow-land lies on the bank of the Purvāb River. It is a most pleasant place, and here [a certain] Baldāhī built the palace of Qālī, with its beautiful garden and a fine tank. This meadow-land is 3 leagues in length by 1 in width. In winter-time the fodder here is excellent for cattle, but in the summer it is noxious for them to eat the grass here.

*Marḡhzār Kālān.*<sup>2</sup>—This lies near the tomb of the Mother of Solomon. It is 4 leagues in length, but has no breadth to speak of. The tomb of the Mother of King Solomon is of stone, in the form of a cube. No one can look into the chamber within the tomb, for, as it is said, a talisman has been laid on it, whereby anyone who shall give a look into it forthwith becomes blind. I myself, however, have never found one who had made the experiment.

*Marḡhzār Rūn.*<sup>3</sup>—This is a fine meadow-land, but not so good as that of Ūrd. It is, like the last, of the cold region, and has many springs of water, also villages, that are either the freehold property of the villagers or granted to them in fief for military service. The length of this meadow-land is 7 leagues by 5 across.

*Marḡhzār Bīd and Mashkān.*<sup>4</sup>—A fine meadow-land,

<sup>1</sup> See above under Khabrak and Qālī, p. 22. The reading of the name Baldāhī is very uncertain; he is an unknown personage.

<sup>2</sup> Near Pasargadæ, but the name is not to be found on the map. The tomb is in point of fact that of King Cyrus.

<sup>3</sup> See above, under Rūn, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Probably near Dih Bīd. The village of Mashkān or Mashkūn, of the Qunqurī District, lies on the Pulvār River, 10 leagues north of Pasargadæ (FNN. 245). In Hamd-Allah Rubāt Mashk, in the Itinerary, occupies the position of Dih Bīd. The Arab geographers give Mushkān as the chief town of the Jawbarqān District, which lay at the head-waters of the Farvāb or Pulvār River (Ist. 121; IH. 192; Yaq. ii, 141; iv, 543). For Basīrā or Lasīrā see above under Kamah and Fārūq, p. 24. Dih Bīd is given below in the Itineraries.

and the district of Basirā is of those parts. They report the climate as cold, and it is 7 leagues in length by 3 across.

*Margh Bahman*.<sup>1</sup>—This lies above Juwaym [to the north of] the *Shirāz* District. It measures 1 league across by the same in length.

*Margh Shidān*.<sup>2</sup>—This is a very beautiful meadow-land, the equal of which can hardly be met with elsewhere. All round and about it are well-cultivated lands, with many springs of water and running streams. In spring-time water collects here, and being held back forms a lake in the midst of the meadow-land. The length of this land is 10 leagues by the like in breadth.

*Marghzār Kāmfirūz*.<sup>3</sup>—This is a meadow-land that stretches level after level along the banks of the Kur [or Cyrus] River. There is here a forest, which is the lair of lions, and the lions of Kāmfirūz are noted for their savageness and strength.

Now besides all the above there are many other smaller meadow-lands, which, however, are places not necessary to mention in detail. Moreover, since throughout Fārs, from one end to the other, there are valleys and mountain regions; everywhere, therefore, grazing-grounds for cattle are to be found in an abundance. Lastly, the *Marghzārs* of Kamah and Sarvāt<sup>4</sup> are meadow-lands, which, though not of the most celebrated, are such that cattle grazing on them soon become extraordinarily fat.

<sup>1</sup> *Margh* is apparently an abbreviation for *Marghzār*, "meadow-land." There is a place marked on the map, 2½ leagues north-east of Tall Baydā, which is called Bahmani. Juwaym, as already said, is modern Jūyum or Gūyum (FNN. 191, 194).

<sup>2</sup> *Shidān* was one of the Earthly Paradises (see above, p. 58). Its position is nowhere given.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See above under *Khabraz* and *Sarvāt*, pp. 22, 24.

## CASTLES

*Description of the Castles in Fārs*

*Qal'ah Ištākhr*.<sup>1</sup>—In all the whole world there is no castle more ancient than this one, and every governor [of Fārs] who has held power has been master of this castle. From the times of the Pishdadian kings this castle with two others standing near by have been known as the Three Domes. The other two are called *Qal'ah Shikastah* [the Broken Castle] and the castle of *Shankavān* [or *Shakanvān*], but these last are now in ruins. [For the castle of *Ištākhr*] 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah built a mighty tank, which is known as the *Hawz-i-'Aḏudī*. It was constructed in a deep gully, down which the stream that passed by the castle flowed. First, 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah with boardings closed the end of this gully, making the like of a great dam, and next inside this he set cement [in forms] with wax and grease laid upon *kirbās*-stuffs, with bitumen, bringing the whole structure to the upper level all round, and afterwards when it had settled down firmly nothing could be stronger. Thus was the tank made, and its area was a *qafiz* [a square of 144 ells] all but a fraction, being 17 feet in depth, wherefore if a thousand men for a whole year were to drink therefrom, the water-level would not sink more than a foot. Then in the middle part of the tank they built up twenty columns of stone, set in cement, on which they rested the roof that covered over the tank. Further, 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah, besides this tank, built here other water-tanks and cisterns. The fault of this castle, however, is that it can very easily be taken by assault. Its climate is cold, being very like that of Isfahān. Within its walls are many fine kiosks and

<sup>1</sup> For the Three Castles of Persepolis see above, p. 26, under *Ištākhr*. The *Ištākhr* Castle lies 2 leagues to the north of the village of Fathābād. *Qal'ah Shikastah* (the Broken Castle) is now known as *Miyān Qal'ah* (the Midmost Castle), and lies 2½ leagues to the north-west of Fathābād. The castle of *Ashkanvān* stands one league south-east of *Dashtak*, the older *Abraj* (FNN. 332-6).

beautiful palaces, also a broad *maydān* [or ground for reviews].

*Qal'ah Būshkānāt*.—This is a strong castle, that at the present day is still in the hands of Siyāh Mīl ibn Bahurast.<sup>1</sup> For he being a good man [the Saljūq Sultan] has allowed him to keep the command here, and has not dispossessed him [as has been the case with other local chiefs], and so this castle remains in his hands.

*Qal'ah Khurshah*.—This castle stands 5 leagues distant from Jahram.<sup>2</sup> *Khurshah*, the man after whom the castle takes its name, was a certain Arab who had been appointed governor in these parts by [Muhammad] brother of [the Omayyad Viceroy of 'Irāq] Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. Now *Khurshah* having amassed much money built this castle, and taking up his abode therein rebelled. On account of this, in later times the governor of the [Dārābjird] District has never been allowed to be master of this castle as well; for of a surety power and wealth in a governor will breed conceit, and to possess this castle would breed further conceit, and where in a man's head two causes of conceit exist, without fail these result in the disorder of rebellion. The castle of *Khurshah* is so strong a fortress that it cannot be taken by assault. Its climate is that of the hot region.

*Qal'ah Ramm Zavān*.<sup>3</sup>—This is a very strong castle which stands near *Ghundijān*, and it commands that district. The climate here is that of the cold region. Their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Abādah*.<sup>4</sup>—This is a well-fortified castle, but in all general particulars like many other small castles. The climate is temperate, the water is stored in cisterns, and it would be possible to take the place by assault.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake for *Vištāsf* (see Introduction, p. 12). He was chief of the Mas'ūdī tribe. And see p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> See above, under *Ramm Zavān*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Of *Tashk*, near Lake *Bakhtigān*. See p. 30.

*Qal'ah Khuvār*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a fortress that is not very strongly fortified. The climate is cold but temperate; and its water is obtained from wells.

*Qal'ah Ištahbānān*.<sup>2</sup>—A strong castle that was in the hands of Ḥasūyah. But Atābeg Chāuli went to war with Ḥasūyah, and though he afterwards made peace with him he dismantled this castle. Now, however, recently, it has again been re-garrisoned.

*Diz Iqlīd*.<sup>3</sup>—This is merely a village that is well fortified, not a castle.

*Diz Abrāj*.<sup>4</sup>—Above Abrāj stands a hill, one half of which is fortified, the other half remaining unfortified, so that it could be surrounded and easily besieged; still, it could not be taken by assault, or quickly invested. There is a running stream that passes along the fortified part of the hill, flowing down thence to the plain, where its waters are used by the people of the village.

*Qal'ahā Abādān*, or "the Garrisoned Castles".—This is the name of certain castles which are mentioned [in the histories], for in times past there were seventy and odd notable castles in the province of Fārs, all of which the Atabeg Chāuli took by force of arms, and then dismantled for the most part, all indeed but those which are more particularly mentioned in the foregoing section of the present work.

*Qal'ah Ispīd Diz*, or "the White Fortress Castle".<sup>5</sup>—This in the most ancient days had been fortified, but for long years had been dismantled, so that no one could say at what time it had last been garrisoned. Then Abū Naṣr of Tīr Murdān, the father of Bā Jūl,<sup>6</sup> during the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 22. Now known as Qilāt Khār, lying 1 league to the south-east of Arsinjān (FNN. 174).

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 34, and for Ḥasūyah, of the Ismā'īlī, Introduction, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> A *Diz* is smaller than *Qal'ah*, a castle. See above, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Now known as Hīsār, lying half a league south-west of Dashtak. See above, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Now called Qal'ah Safīd (FNN. 334). See p. 58. <sup>6</sup> See above, p. 53.



times of trouble [at the end of the Buyid rule] rebuilt the fortifications. Now this is a fortress that entirely covers the mountain-top, measuring 20 leagues round and about, so that it is not a mere castle nor a place to be held by a handful of men. It is a great circular mountain plain, the cliffs below it being of white rocks, but on the upper level of the fortress there is arable land, the soil being red, which they sow for crops. Here too they have vineyards of grapes and orchards of almonds with other fruits: for there are many springs of water, everywhere in the ground, and when they dig down water is easily found. The air here is quite cool and pleasant, the crops too are most abundant. The fault of this castle, however, is that it must be garrisoned by a great company of troops, and that when the rightful sovereign [namely the Saljūq Sultan]<sup>1</sup> approaches to take possession thereof, the country folk will steal away [with the needful supplies and the forage]. The White Castle stands at a distance of 2 leagues from Nawbanjān, and below the castle there has been built a small fortress, but one that is well fortified, called Astāk. All round the White Castle there are many hunting-grounds among the hills, and within the castle limits there are numerous fine kiosks, and there is also a broad review ground.

*Qal'ah Sahārah*.<sup>2</sup>—This stands on a great hill, which lies 4 leagues distant from Firūzābād. The castle was built by the Mas'ūdī Kurds,<sup>3</sup> and it is a very fine place. The climate is cold, the water excellent, and it lies surrounded by arable lands that are never let to go out of cultivation, for they are tilled by the *Shabānkārah*.

<sup>1</sup> *Pādīshāh-i-mustaqīm*: the sense is by no means clear, and the text is probably corrupt. The passage has been copied verbatim by both Hamd-Allah and Hāfiz Abrū. *Mustaqīm* generally means "rightly directed" by Allah, but it might be taken to mean (the king who) "marches straight" on the fortress.

<sup>2</sup> Now called Qal'ah Sārah (FNN. 334). See p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, p. 12.

It is indeed a great place, and all the year round corn is grown here.

*Qal'ah Kārzīn*.<sup>1</sup>—This is a castle that is not so strongly fortified as some others. The climate here is very hot. It stands on the banks of the *Thakān* River, and they have constructed a syphon-tube, by which water from the river is brought up to the castle.

*Qal'ah Samīrān*.<sup>2</sup>—This is a strong castle standing near by to Juwaym of Abū Aḥmad. The climate is hot, and their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Khwādān*, or *Khwābdān*.<sup>3</sup>—A strong castle standing in the midst of many broad lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Khurramah*.<sup>4</sup>—A well-fortified castle, standing among cultivated lands. The climate is temperate, and the water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Tūr-i-Khudā* [the Castle of God's Arrow].—This castle is near *Khayrah*,<sup>5</sup> and it is a strong place, standing upon the summit of a high hill. It is for this reason that it is called God's Arrow, for it cannot be taken in war. The climate is cold, and their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Ištākhr*.<sup>6</sup>—This is a very strong castle, for the which reason it has been given the name of *Ištākhr-Yār*, "the Friend of *Ištākhr*" to wit. Its climate is temperate, and for water they have springs here, also cisterns.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as *Qal'ah 'Uthmānī*, standing 2 leagues south of Juwaym, or Jāyum, of Abū Aḥmad; see above, p. 35 (FNN. 335).

<sup>3</sup> Muqaddasī (p. 453) spells it *Khwādhān*, but it is probably identical in position with the village, or stage, of *Khwābdān*, mentioned below in the Itineraries and standing on the River *Khwābdān*, which has been already described (see p. 64). In that case, probably, it is the present *Nūrābād*, lying 1½ leagues to the south of *Fahliyan* (FNN. 303).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 29. *Tūr*, "arrow," is also the name of the planet Mercury.

<sup>6</sup> Probably on the hill above *Ištākhr*, Persepolis, and not one of the *Sih Gunbadān*; see above, p. 26.

*The Castles of Purg and Tārum.*<sup>1</sup>—The castle at Purg is very great and strong, it cannot be taken in war. The castle of Tārum is not so strong as the other in regard to its fortifications. Both have a hot climate, and their water is from cisterns.

*Qal'ah Ranbah.*<sup>2</sup>—This castle stands in the Ranbah Pass. It is a strongly built and well-fortified place, and the control of the city of Dārābjird belongs to him who holds this castle. The climate is excellent, and its water comes from springs and from cisterns. At the present time it is in the hands of the people of Kirmān.

*Qal'ah Gunbad Mallaghān.*<sup>3</sup>—This is a castle that could be held by one single armed man, so strongly fortified is it. Its climate is temperate, and water is plentiful in the cisterns. They keep here a store of corn sufficient for three or four years.

*The Irāhistān Castles.*<sup>4</sup>—These are so numerous as to be beyond count, for in this district every village has its own fortress, perched either upon a rock or crowning a hill, or again built on the level ground. And in all times the climate hereabout is extremely hot.

## ITINERARIES

### *Distances in Fārs*

The distances [along the high roads] all start from Shirāz, because this is the central point in the province. From Shirāz going towards the Iṣfahān frontier there are three main roads, namely, the way by Māyīn and Rūn, the way by Iṣṭakhr, and the way by Sumayram.

Of these, on the Māyīn and Rūn Road it is counted as 52 leagues from Shirāz to Yazdikhwāst, the frontier stage

<sup>1</sup> The castle near Purg is that now known as Qal'ah Bahman, and it stands 2 leagues to the south of modern Furg. The castle at Tārum is not given (see FNN. 217, 218). See p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> The castle stands 4 leagues to the east of Dārābjird (FNN. 334). See p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 48.

between Fārs and the Isfahān District. The first stage is of 6 leagues, from Shīrāz to Dih Gurg in the Shīrāz District; the second stage is 6 leagues to the head of the Bridge over the River Kūr; the third stage is of 4 leagues to Māyīn; the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kūshk-i-Shahriyār in [the plain of] Dasht Rūn; the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Bāsh̄t in [the plain of] Dasht Ūrd; the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Kūshk-i-Zar, also of Dasht Ūrd; the seventh stage is of 7 leagues to Dih Gawz; and the eighth stage is of 10 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.<sup>1</sup>

The road by Ištākhr. This also comes out by Yazdikhwāst, and going by Iqlid and Surmaq it is 69 leagues in length, being longer than [the Māyīn Road]; and this is the Winter Road, which is used when the other roads are impassable [from snow]. The first stage is of 7 leagues from Shīrāz to Zarqān, the second stage is 6 leagues to [Pādust or Pāvdašt], the third stage 4 leagues to Ištākhr, the fourth stage is of 6 leagues to Kamah, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Kamhang, the sixth stage is of 8 leagues to Dih Bid, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Dih Pūland, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Surmaq, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Abādah, the tenth stage is 7 leagues to Shūrīstān, and the eleventh stage is 8 leagues to Yazdikhwāst.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither Dih Gurg, "Wolf Village," nor the Bridge over the Kur now exists; Shahriyār's Kiosk must have been at or near modern Ūjān; the village of Bāsh̄t (or Māsh̄t) near Aspās; while Kūshk-i-Zar (Golden Kiosk) is now generally called Kūshk-i-Zard, the Yellow Kiosk (FNN. 220). Māyīn and Dih Gawz (Nut Village) have been already noticed. Hāfiz Abrū adds that this last was also known in Arabic as Qariyat-al-Khamīr, "Yeast Village."

<sup>2</sup> Part of this route is given below, p. 82, in duplicate, in the itinerary for Shīrāq to Yazd. The village of Zarqān exists (FNN. 291). The stage called Pādust, which may also be read Māvdašt, is uncertain, and possibly represents the village of Marvdasht. Kamah, as already said (p. 24), stands for Kalilak. Kamhang (for variants see Išt. 129, Muq. 457, 458) in the other itinerary has, probably, a double, under the form Kaminak; there given as another stage; it must stand for some place lying between Mashhad-i-Murghāb and Mashhad Mādir-i-Sulaymān, the Tomb of Solomon's Mother, otherwise the Tomb of Cyrus (FNN. 301),

The road to Sumayram; and from Shirāz to Sumayram it is 45 leagues. The first stage from Shirāz is of 5 leagues to Juwaym, the second stage, on to Baydā, is 3 leagues, the third stage is 4 leagues to Tūr, the fourth stage is of 5 leagues to Tīr Māyijān of Kāmfirūz, the fifth stage is 4 leagues to Jarmaq, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Kūrad: the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kallār, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Dih Tarsaān, and the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Sumayram.<sup>1</sup>

From Shirāz to the province of Kirmān there are three main roads, namely, the Rūdān Road, the Shirjān Road, and the road by Purg to Tārum.

The Rūdān Road; and from Shirāz to Rūdān it is 75 leagues. The first stage is in 10 leagues to the head of the Dam built by 'Aḡlud-ad-Dawlah, the second stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Khuvār, the third stage is 10 leagues to Abādah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Dih Mūrd, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Ṣāhah, the sixth stage is 11 leagues to Rādḥān, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Shahr-i-Bābak, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, and the ninth stage is 7 leagues to Rūdān.<sup>2</sup>

Dih Bid, "Willow Village," exists (FNN. 244). Dih Pūland or Būland, "Long Village," must have stood near the present caravanserai, marked on the map as Karvān Sarāy Khān Khurrah, lying 6 leagues north-west of Dih Bid. The remaining stages have already been noticed.

<sup>1</sup> The name of Tīr Māyijān, probably the chief town of Kāmfirūz (see above, p. 24) does not exist on the map, and is not given by the Arab geographers. It must have stood near modern Ardakān (FNN. 172); Tīr Azjān, 6½ leagues to the north of Fahliyān, lies too far to the west (FNN. 304). The remaining stages to Sumayram are not to be found on the present map. Jarmaq may be for Kharbuq, given by Iṣṭakhri (p. 106) as the capital of Al-Aghrastān; and Muqaddasī (p. 447) gives the spelling Kharmaq. Dih Tarsaān would appear to be identical with a stage given by Ibn Khurdādhbih as Tajāb, and by Muqaddasī as Az-Zāb.

<sup>2</sup> This is the route by the north side of Lake Bakhtigān, and most of the stages have already been noticed. The ruins of Shahr-i-Bābak exist, but Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, "the Passage of Ibrāhīm," is wanting, and for Mashra'ah Hāfiẓ Abrū gives Mazra'ah, "the Field of Ibrāhīm," while the Arab geographers put about here Qariyat-al-Jamal, in Persian Dih Shuturān, "Camel Village." Rūdān, too, they give as the name of the district lying between Yazd and Shahr-i-Bābak. See above, p. 18.

The Shirjān Road; and from Shirāz to Shirjān is 80 leagues. The first stage is in 4 leagues to Dih Būdan, the second stage is 3 leagues to the two villages of Dāriyān, the third stage is 7 leagues to Khurramah, the fourth stage is 6 leagues to Kath [or Kisht], the fifth stage is 7 leagues to Khayrah, the sixth stage is 9 leagues to Nayriz, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to Qūṭruh, the eighth stage is 7 leagues to Mashra'ah, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Parbāl [or Parbāk], the tenth and eleventh stages are together 15 leagues to Mashra'ah Muhaffāfah ["the Passage of the Mirage"], and the twelfth stage is of 10 leagues to the border of the stony [or salt] plain of Shirjān.<sup>1</sup>

The road by Purg to Tārum; and from Shirāz to this last it is 70 leagues. The first stage is in 6 leagues to Māhalūyah, the second stage is 9 leagues to Sarvistān, the third stage is of 9 leagues to the village of Kurm, the fourth stage is in 5 leagues to Pasā, the fifth stage is 7 leagues to the village of Fustajān, the sixth stage is in 4 leagues to the frontier of the Dārābjird District, the seventh stage is in 6 leagues to Dārābjird, the eighth stage is in 6 leagues to Rustāq-ar-Rustāq, the ninth stage is 12 leagues to Purg, and the tenth stage is 10 leagues to Tārum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the route along the south side of Lake Bakhtigān. The village of Būdan is probably modern Pādinak, lying a league or more to the east of Shirāz. The MS. of Hāfiz Abrū gives "Two Villages and Dāriyān"; also at the present day there are two hamlets, one called Dū Dih, "Two Villages," the other Dāriyān, lying respectively 7 and 8 leagues to the east of Shirāz (FNN. 191). Kath (or Kisht) is now known as Khān Kat, standing 9 leagues to the north-west of Iṣṭahbānāt (FNN. 178). Here, again, both the places called Mashra'ah, "Pass" or "Passage", are given in Hāfiz Abrū as Mazra'ah, "a Cultivated Field"; and neither they nor Parbāl (with other variants, as Sarbāk, etc.) are to be found on the modern map.

<sup>2</sup> The route along the south side of Lake Māharlū and most of the places have been already noticed. The stage Māhalūyah is modern Māharlū, a village on the southern shore of the lake, 8 leagues to the south-east of Shirāz (FNN. 194).



From Shirāz to the frontier of the Khūzistān province is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is to Juwaym in 5 leagues, the second stage is 5 leagues to Khullār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Kharrārah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Gawz of Tir Murdān, the fifth stage is 3 leagues to Kūsjan, the sixth stage is 3 leagues to Nawbanjān, the seventh stage is 4 leagues to Khawābdān, the eighth stage is 6 leagues to Kishn, the ninth stage is 5 leagues to Gumbad Mallaghān, the tenth stage is 4 leagues to Šāhah, the eleventh stage is of 4 leagues to Habs, the twelfth stage is of 6 leagues to Furzuk, the thirteenth stage is 4 leagues to Arrajān, and the fourteenth stage is of 4 leagues to Büstānak.<sup>1</sup>

From Shirāz to the coast towns (*Sāḥiliyyāt*), namely, Jannābā, Sinīz, and to Mahrūbān, it is 62 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is 4 leagues to Juzḥīrkān [or Jūhīrkān], the second stage is 6 leagues to Dasht Arzān, the third stage is 10 leagues to Kāzīrūn, the fourth stage is 9 leagues to Khishṭ, the fifth stage is of 7 leagues to Tawwaj, the sixth stage is 4 leagues to Dih Mālik, the seventh and eighth stages are 10 leagues to Jannābā, the ninth stage is 6 leagues to Sinīz, and the tenth stage is 6 leagues to Mahrūbān.<sup>2</sup>

From Shirāz to the coast districts (*A'māl-i-Sif*), being 39 leagues. The first stage [from Shirāz] is in 7 leagues to Māsarām, the second stage is 6 leagues to the Sittajān river-bed, the third stage is 3 leagues to Jirrah, the fourth stage is 4 leagues to Ghundijān, the fifth stage is 6 leagues to Rawā-adh-Dhiwān, the sixth stage is in

<sup>1</sup> Kūsjan is modern Kūsingān, 3 leagues to the south-east of Fahliyān, but neither Kishn (which may be read Kathan or Kanash), Šāhah (like Šāhah near Niriz), nor Büstānak are to be found on the map. The other stages have been already noticed, and all are mentioned in the *Itineraries* of the Arab geographers, from whom this road is copied.

<sup>2</sup> The name Juzḥīrkān is uncertain, and not found elsewhere. Hamd-Allah gives it as "the Wall of Hājji Qawwām". Dih Mālik, as already said (p. 67) is no longer to be found. The other places have been noticed.

6 leagues to Tawwaj, the seventh stage is 7 leagues to the coast.<sup>1</sup>

From Shirāz to Najīram, which is 65 leagues. The first four stages [from Shirāz] to Ghundijān are in total 20 leagues by the road that has just been given. Then the fifth stage is in 7 leagues to Būshkān, the sixth stage is in 5 leagues to Būshkānāt, the seventh stage is in 10 leagues to the village of Shanānā, the eighth stage is in 8 leagues to [the beginning of] Māndistān, the ninth stage is 7 leagues to the further limit of Māndistān, and the tenth stage is 8 leagues to Najīram.<sup>2</sup>

From Shirāz to Sirāf by way of Firūzābād it is 86 leagues. From Shirāz the first stage is of 5 leagues to Kafrah,<sup>3</sup> the second stage is 5 leagues to Kuvār, the third stage is 5 leagues to Khunayfqān, the fourth stage is 5 leagues to Firūzābād, the fifth stage is 8 leagues to Šimkān, the sixth stage is 7 leagues to Habrak [or Hirak], the seventh stage is 5 leagues to Kārzīn, the eighth stage is of 8 leagues to Lāghir, the ninth stage is 8 leagues to Kurān, the tenth stage is of four days' march from Kurān to Sirāf, this being of 30 leagues.

From Shirāz to Yazd it is 60 leagues. The first stage is to Zarqān, in 6 leagues; the second stage [is of 6 leagues to Pādust, and thence on to Iṣṭākhr it is 4 leagues];<sup>4</sup> the third stage is of 6 leagues to [Kamah], the fourth stage is of 4 leagues to Kamhang, the fifth stage is of 4 leagues to Dih Bid, the sixth stage is of 12 leagues to Abar-qūyah, the seventh stage is of 5 leagues to Dih Shir, the

<sup>1</sup> Rūdbāl-i-Sittajān, "the river-bed of the Sittajān," appears to be the river otherwise called the Thakān (see above, p. 65, and cf. Iṣṭ. 130, l. 6). Also it seems likely that the stages are inverted, and that Māsaram should come after, south of, the river-bed. Rawā-adh-Dhīwān is identical with Ramm-Zavān already noticed (p. 43).

<sup>2</sup> All these places have already been noticed (see above, p. 39).

<sup>3</sup> Modern Kafr or Kafri, lying 2 leagues or more to the south-west of Shirāz (FNN. 294). The remaining stages have all been noticed.

<sup>4</sup> Added from the route already given (p. 78), Kamah, the next stage, is given in the MS. as Kamhang, a repetition.

eight stage is of 4 leagues to Tūmarah Bastar [or Tūfarah Basb], and the ninth stage is of 9 leagues to Yazd.<sup>1</sup>

[Ibn-al-Balkhī next relates the history of the Shabān-kārah and of the Kurdish Ramms, with a short discussion of the characteristics of the Persians from the point of view of their government. These sections have already been given in epitome in the Introduction. After which follows a succinct account (fols. 89b-90b) of the revenues of Fārs, which needs to be translated in full; and then the MS. closes with the long paragraph, epitomized in the Introduction, relating the closing years of the last of the Buyids.]

#### REVENUES

In the Histories it is reported that in the days of the early Persian [Sassanian] kings and until the reign of Chosroes Anūshīrvān the revenue of these provinces was assessed at one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth of the crop, according to its abundance, and this custom of Fārs was similar to that in usage in other parts of the kingdom. When, however, Anūshīrvān established his land-tax (*kharāj*) in all his kingdoms, the land-tax of Fārs amounted to 36 million [silver] dirhams, equivalent to 3 million [gold] dinārs.<sup>2</sup> In the early days of Islām, after Fārs had been conquered [by the Arabs], for a time there was nothing but massacre and pillage and all things were taken by force, but at length matters quieted down, and the ruin and disorder that had overspread the land began to be amended. Then finally, in the reign of the Caliph ‘Abd-al-Malik, Hajjāj [Viceroy of ‘Iraq] dispatched

<sup>1</sup> The first half of this Itinerary as far as Dih Bid is a duplicate of that already given (p. 78). Dih Shīr, "Lion Village," is marked on the map between Abarqūh and Yazd, but Tūmarah Bastar (with variant) is uncertain, not being mentioned by the Arab geographers, or to be found on the modern map, where, in the position indicated, now stands the village of Taft, possibly the same name corrupted.

<sup>2</sup> The gold Dinār was equivalent to about ten shillings, and the silver Dirham to about ten pence.

his brother Muḥammad to be Governor of Fārs, who founded Shīrāz and built many towns throughout the province; at this time the total revenue from the customs<sup>1</sup> of Fārs, which included the one-tenth on the sea ships, amounted in all to three million dirhams. Next, in the geography of Qudāmah<sup>2</sup> it is stated that the land-tax of Fārs in the reign of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd was registered at two million dinārs. Then during the troubles of the reign of Amīn, with the massacre of the people and the disorders, all the registers were carried off and burnt; but as soon as Māmūn found himself firmly established in the Caliphate he ordered new assessments to be drawn up, when it was established that the total of the revenue of the provinces of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān was to amount to 2,600,000 dinārs. This assessment was effected in the year 200 (815). Next, in the reign of the Caliph Muqtadir [295 to 320 (908 to 932) the Wazīr] 'Alī ibn 'Isā made a [new] general assessment, and the copy of the portion relating to Fārs, with which province Kirmān was also reckoned, is as follows: The total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān, in regard to the yearly receipts from the customs, amounted to 2,331,880 red gold dinārs. Of this total the portion paid over by Fārs with its dependencies, including the customs collected at [the port of] Sirāf and the one-tenth levied on the sea-shipping, amounted to 1,887,500 dinārs. And of this last total Fārs with its dependencies, excluding the Sirāf customs, paid in 1,634,500 dinārs, while Sirāf, with the one-tenth levied on the sea ships, paid 253,000 dinārs.

[Of the grand total first given] Kirmān and 'Omān together paid 444,380<sup>3</sup> dinārs, but of this sum Kirmān

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *mu'āmalāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. text of Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 237, and the translation, with notes, pp. 6-11. Our MS. gives the name as Ja'far ibn Qudāmah; it should be Qudāmah ibn Ja'far.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. in error gives 4,044,380 by a mistake of *hazār* for *ṣad*; the addition of the two items gives the sum as above.

with its dependencies contributed only 364,380, this being reckoned as excluding the revenues of [the towns of] Fahl and Fahraj, and also not counting the [revenue of] districts collected in the name of individual Amīrs by their agents, and further not including the revenues set aside for the two sanctuaries [of Mecca and Medina] and which Mūnis the chamberlain [of the Caliph Muqtadir] was responsible for collecting. [The sum therefore above given is] the net remainder which is paid over to the Divān. But taking the places in 'Omān by themselves, these paid 80,000 dinārs.

In [early] times the Amīrs [of Fārs] called themselves the Sons of the Caliph, for none would call himself merely Amīr. Further, they had seized, on their own behalf, upon much property that of right belonged to the State, and this mostly by force of arms; then those parcels of land which had now come to belong to them were ever afterwards reckoned to be their own fiefs, those who had come into possession taking for themselves the revenues, though before these had all belonged to the State. At the time when 'Aḏud-ad-Dawlah came to power he made buildings [and constructions] without number, such as dams [on the rivers for irrigation which watered] the lands he brought under cultivation. Wherefore in his days the sum-total of the revenues of Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Omān, including the one-tenth derived from the seaports at Sirāf and Mahrūbān, amounted to 3,346,000 dinārs. Of this sum Fārs, with the one-tenth levied on the ships which sailed from Sirāf and Mahrūbān, paid 2,150,000 dinārs; while from Shīrāz and [the new suburb of] Gird Fanā Khusrū came 316,000 dinārs. Then Kirmān with [the port of] Tiz and its districts gave 750,000 dinārs; while the towns in 'Omān, not including Fara,<sup>1</sup> paid in 130,000 dinārs.

<sup>1</sup> The reading is uncertain, and what place is meant unknown. The MS. might be read Maza' or Maragh, with other variants.

# INDEX

- Abādah (Iqlid), 21, 22, 78.  
 Abādah (Tashk), 30, 68, 73, 79.  
 Ābādān, Qal'ahā, 74.  
 Abarqūyah, 23, 82.  
 'Abbāsīd Dīnār, 21.  
 'Abd-Allah, Qādī, 15.  
 'Abd-al-Malik, Caliph, 83.  
 Āb-duzdī (syphon), 40, 76.  
 Abraj, 25, 72, 74.  
 Abū 'Alī, Buyid, 9.  
 Abū Burdah, 14.  
 Abū Dharr, 15.  
 Abū Ghānim, 37.  
 Abū Ishāq Shīrāzi, 57.  
 Abū Kālījār, *see* Bākālījār.  
 Abū-l-'Alā, Wazīr, 19.  
 Abū-l-Habāh, 12.  
 Abū-l-Hasan, Qādī, 15.  
 Abū-l-Qasim, Amīr, 42.  
 Abū Manšūr, Buyid, 8.  
 Abū Muḥammad 'Abd-Allah, Qādī, 14.  
 Abū Naṣr, Missioner, 16.  
 Abū Naṣr, Qādī, 15.  
 Abū Naṣr of Tīr Murdān, 53, 74.  
 Abū Sa'd, Amīr, 12, 51, 56, 57.  
 Abū Tāhir, Qādī, 15.  
 Abū Zuhayr, coast of, 48.  
 Abzar, 40, 67.  
 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah, Buyid, 5, 14, 36-8, 41, 49, 66, 72, 79, 85.  
 Afzār, *see* Abzar.  
 Afzūnah, island, 50.  
 Aghrastān, 79.  
 'Alak, the Kurd, 13.  
 Alexander the Great, 44, 50.  
 'Alī ibn 'Īsā, Wazīr, 84.  
 'Allāqah (syrup), 46.  
 Alp Arslān, Sultan, 5.  
 'Amīd-ad-Dawlah, 37.  
 Amīrī, gold piece, 21.  
 Amīruwayh, Amīr, 12.  
 Anburān, 52.  
 Anūshīrwān, Chosroes, 61, 83.  
 Ardakān, 79.  
 Ardashīr, King, 44.  
 Ardashīr-Khūrah district, 35.  
 Argumān or Arjumān, 23.  
 Arjīn, *see* Dašt.  
 Arrajān, 19, 61, 64, 81.  
 Arzān, Arzhīn; *see* Dašt.  
 Āsh, 30.  
 Ashkanvān, *see* Shakanvān.  
 'Asīr (syrup), 46.  
 Aspās, 78.  
 Assassins, sect of, 59, 61.  
 Astāk, 75.  
 Atabegs of Fārs, 6.  
 Ayvān Girdah, 45.  
 Azār Sābūr, 20.  
 Bā Jūl, 53, 74.  
 Bahman, castle, 77.  
 Bahman, king, 32.  
 Bahman, meadow, 71.  
 Bahs, 52.  
 Bajjah, 21, 69.  
 Bākālījār or Bākālīnjār, Buyid prince, 7, 15, 16, 19, 37.  
 Bakhtīgān, Lake, 29, 66, 68, 79, 80.  
 Baldāhi, Amīr, 70.  
 Balūr, island, 64.  
 Band, *see* Dam.  
 Band Amīr, 65, 79.  
 Bandar Daylam, 63.  
 Bandar Dayyur, 49.  
 Bandar Hindiyān, 62.  
 Bandar Rīg, 63.  
 Bandar Tāhīrī, 41.  
 Bandhūyah, 67.  
 Bargiyāruq, Sultan, 2, 6.  
 Barvāt River, 69.  
 Bāryāb, 52.  
 Basht and Basht Qūṭā, 52.  
 Basīrā, 24, 70, 71.  
 Basūyān Kurds, 13.  
 Bavvān, 25, 30.



- Bayān Amīr, 11.  
 Bayḡā (Bayzā), 29, 79.  
 Bāzbachah, 21.  
 Bāzrang, 53, 54, 66.  
 Bid meadow, 70.  
 Bihbahān, 61.  
 Bilād Shābūr, 50, 58.  
 Bishābūr, 55.  
 Bishābūr River, 51, 55, 65, 67.  
 Bitumen, 31.  
 Būdan, 80.  
 Būdanjān, 30.  
 Būm Pir and Būm Javān, 45.  
 Burāq, 27.  
 Burāzah the engineer, 44, 45.  
 Burāzah River, 39, 44, 45, 65.  
 Būrihā, 42.  
 Būshahr, 62.  
 Būshgān, 39.  
 Būshkān, 40.  
 Būshkānāt, 39, 73, 82.  
 Būshatakān, 82.  
 Bustānak, 81.  
  
 Castles, 72.  
 Chāhakī swords, 25.  
 Chahār Dih, 61.  
 Chatrūyah, 67.  
 Chāulī, Atabeg, 2, 6, 29, 32, 39, 65, 66, 74.  
 Chawgān, 53.  
 Chief Justices of Fārs, 14, 38.  
 Chirū, 49.  
 Churām, 53.  
 Cyrus, tomb of, 70, 78.  
 Cyrus River, *see* Kur.  
  
 Dādḥīn, 43.  
 Dākhmah, Towers of Silence, 27.  
 Dālī, 54.  
 Dam, Fuller's, 66.  
 Dam, Rāmjird, 29, 65.  
 Dam Island, 64.  
 Dam of 'Aḡud-ad-Dawlah, 65, 79.  
 Dam of Kirbāl, 31.  
 Darā (Darius), king, 31.  
 Darāb, 31.  
 Darābjird, 31, 77, 80.  
 Darābjird meadow, 70.  
 Darākān, 33.  
 Darākūh, 33.  
 Darīst, 55.  
 Dāriyān, 80.  
 Darkhwid Lake, 69.  
 Daryāchah Parīshān, 69.  
 Dasht Arzān or Arjīn, 68, 81.  
 Dasht Arzīn meadow, 69.  
 Dasht Arzīn Lake, 68.  
 Dasht Bārī, 52.  
 Dasht Rūn, 78.  
 Dasht Ūrd, 78.  
 Dashtak, 25, 72.  
 Davvān, 43.  
 Dayr Ayyūb and 'Omar, 61.  
 Dih 'Alī, 54.  
 Dih Bāshṭ, 78.  
 Dih Bīd, 70, 78, 82.  
 Dih Būdan, 80.  
 Dih Gawz of Tīr Murdān, 53, 81.  
 Dih Gawz of Ūrd or Dih Girdū, 21, 22, 78.  
 Dih Gurg, 78.  
 Dih Kuhnah, 41.  
 Dih Mālik, 67, 81.  
 Dih Murd, 30, 79.  
 Dih Pūland, 78.  
 Dih Shīr, 82.  
 Dih Tarsaān, 79.  
 Dīn Dilā, 50.  
 Dīnār, 83.  
 Dīrham, 83.  
 Diz, a castle, 74.  
 Diz Abraj, 74.  
 Diz Iqlīd, 74.  
 Diz Kilāt or Kilāb, 62.  
 Dīzah, 46.  
 Dū Dih, 80.  
 Dū Gunbadān, 52.  
 Dūdman, 53.  
 Dūshāb, 32.  
  
 Faḡlūyah or Faḡlūn, Amīr, 8, 9, 10, 34, 37.  
 Faḡlūyah ibn Abū Sa'd, 12.  
 Fahl, 85.  
 Fahraj, 20, 85.  
 Fakhristān Dam, 29, 65.  
 Fāmūr Lake, 69.

Fara', 85.

*Farakh*, 23.

*Fārs Nāmāh-i-Nāsīm*, 16.

Fārs Province, 17; its five Districts, 19.

Fārūq, 24.

Farvāb, *see* Purvāb.

Fasū, *see* Pasā.

Fathābād, 72.

Faydābād Dam, 66.

Firāmurz ibn Handāb, Amīr, 62.

Firūzābād, 43-6, 65, 75, 82.

Furg, *see* Purg.

Furzuk, 62, 81.

Fustajān, 34, 80. ?

Gabrī, 40.

Ganfah, 63.

Ghawṭah, 58.

Ghiyath - ad - Dīn Muḥammad, Sultan, 2, 4, 6.

Ghundijān, 52, 65, 73, 81, 82.

Gilūyah, *see* Jilūyah.

Gird Fanā Khusrū, 36, 85.

Girrah, *see* Jirrah.

God's Arrow, 76.

Gulāb Diz, 62.

Gunāvah, 63.

Gunbad Kirmān or Girmān, 45.

Gunbad Mallaghān, 52, 66, 77, 81.

Hābī, Amīr, 49.

Habrak, 46, 47, 82.

Habs, 62, 81.

Hāfiz Abrū, 3.

Hafrak, 25.

Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, viceroy, 36, 83.

Hājji Qawwām, wall of, 81.

Hamjan, 40.

Hangām, island, 64.

Harāh or Harāt, 24.

Harim, 57.

Harm or Haram, 40.

Hārūn-ar-Rashid, Caliph, 84.

Hasū, 33.

Hasūyah, Amīr, 11, 29, 30, 33, 34, 74.

Hatizir, 47.

Hawmah, *see* Jawmah.

Hazār and Hazār Dirakht, 20. <sup>6</sup>

Hazār Asp, Amīr, 19.

Hill of Baydā, 29.

Hindijān or Hinduwān, 58, 62.

Hirak, 46, 47, 82.

Hisār, 74.

Hospital of Firūzābād, 46; of Shirāz, 38.

Hūmah, *see* Jawmah.

Hunifqān, *see* Khunayfghān.

Hūrashi, 49.

Hurmuz or Harm, 40.

Husayn ibn Šalih, the Kurd, 43.

Hūshī, 49.

Hūzū, 49.

Ibn-al-Balkhī, 2.

Ibn Khurdādbih, 84.

Ibrāhīm ibn Mamā, 11, 33.

Ibrāhīm ibn Razmān, 10.

Ij or Ig, 34.

Imād-ad-Dawlah, 37.

Iqlid, 23, 74.

*Iqtā' wa Mulki*, 24.

Irāhistān, 40, 41, 47, 48, 77.

Irān Girdah, 45.

Iron-mine, 29.

Isfadrān or Isfidān, 21.

Ishfāyiqān, 51.

Ismā'ili Kurds, 10.

Ispid Diz, *see* Safid Qal'ah.

Iṣṭahbān or Iṣṭahbānān, 34, 74.

Iṣṭakhr Castles, 26, 72.

Iṣṭakhr City, 25-7, 78, 82.

Iṣṭakhr District, 19.

Iṣṭakhr-Yār, Castle, 76.

Itineraries, 77.

Jābī or Jānī, Amīr, 49.

Jahram, 34, 73.

Jallādjan, 61, 65.

Jamilah, 52.

Jamshīd, king, 26.

Jannābā, 63, 66, 67, 81.

Jarmaq, 79.

Jatrūyah, 67.

Jawbarqān, 70.

Jawmah, 13, 21, and *see* Jūmah.

Jibrin, 47.

- Jilūyah Kurds, 13.  
 Jilūyah Mountains, 58.  
 Jins, Jis; *see* Habs.  
 Jirrah, 51, 81.  
 Jirrah River, 65.  
 Jūhirkān, 81.  
 Jūmah, 58.  
 Junbad Mallaghān, *see* Gunbad.  
 Jūr and Jūrī roses, 43.  
 Juwaym of Abū Aḥmad, 35, 76.  
 Juwaym of Shīrāz, 71, 79, 81.  
 Jūyikān, 53, 64.  
 Juzhirkān, 81.  
  
 Kabrīn, 40.  
 Kafīr, Kafīrī, or Kafrah, 82.  
 Kaharjān, 48.  
 Kākī, 67.  
 Kālān meadow, 70.  
 Kalīlak, 78.  
 Kallār, 21, 28, 65, 79.  
 Kamah, 24, 71, 78, 82.  
 Kāmfrūz, 24, 71, 79.  
 Kamhang, 78, 82.  
 Kamīn, *see* Kamah.  
 Kamīnak, 78.  
 Kanash, 81.  
 Kāriyān, 40.  
 Kāriyān Kurds, 13.  
 Kārīz, 20.  
 Karvān Saray Khān Khurrah, 79.  
 Kārzīn, 40, 67, 76, 82.  
 Karzuvi Kurds, 11.  
 Kath, 80.  
 Kathah, 20.  
 Kathan, 81.  
 Kavār, 38, 67, 69, 82.  
 Kaysh, Amīr, 42, 50.  
 Kāzirān, 51, 55-7, 81.  
 Kettledrum and banner, 9, 11.  
 Khābdān River, 64.  
 Khabr, 39, 67.  
 Khabrak, 22.  
 Khabraz or Khabrīz, 22, 68.  
 Khabs, *see* Habs.  
 Khafr, 39.  
 Khafrāh, 22.  
 Khafrak, 25.  
 Khān Kat, 80.  
  
 Khār Castle, 22.  
 Kharbuq, 79.  
 Kharīk Island, 64.  
 Kharīr-al-Mā, 53.  
 Kharrāqān, 53.  
 Kharrārāh, 53, 81.  
 Khārzīn, 40.  
 Khasū, 32, 33.  
 Khayrah, 29, 68, 76, 80.  
 Khīr, *see* Khayrah.  
 Khīrāmāh, *see* Khurramāh.  
 Khisht, 52, 67, 81.  
 Khullār, 54, 81.  
 Khumārtagīn Atabeg, 2, 6, 37, 42.  
 Khumāyījān, 54.  
 Khunayfān or Khunayfghān, 39, 65, 82.  
 Khūrah or Khurrah, 19.  
 Khūrāshī, 49.  
 Khurasūyah, 8.  
 Khurramāh, 30, 76, 80.  
 Khurshah Castle, 34, 73.  
 Khuvār, 22, 74, 79.  
 Khwābdān or Khwādān, 76, 81.  
 Kilāb, Diz, 62.  
 Kirbāl, 29, 66.  
 Kīrbās, 34, 35, 38.  
 Kirmān, 84.  
 Kishn, 81.  
 Kisht, 80.  
 Kūbinjān or Kūhinjān, 47.  
 Kūh Jilūyah, 58.  
 Kumārij, 52.  
 Kur River, 21, 24, 28-30, 65, 67, 71; bridge over, 78.  
 Kūrad, 21, 79.  
 Kurān, 48, 82.  
 Kurdish tribes, 13.  
 Kurm, 32, 80.  
 Kūshk, Old Fīrūzābād, 43.  
 Kūshk-i-Qādī, 32.  
 Kūshk-i-Shahriyār, 78.  
 Kūshk-i-Zar (or Zard), 21, 78.  
 Kūsingān, 81.  
 Kūsjān, 81.  
  
 Lāghir, 48, 67, 82.  
 Lakes, 68.  
 Lār Island, 50.

- Lāsirā, 24, 70, 71.  
 Lawalijan Kurds, 13.  
 Library at Firūzābād, 46; at Shirāz, 38.  
 Lions, 24, 69, 71.  
  
 Māh Baṣrah und Māh Kūfah, 17.  
 Māhalūyah Lake, 68.  
 Māhalūyah Village, 68, 80.  
 Mahamat Shaybān, Amīr, 10.  
 Mahārū, *see* Māhalūyah.  
 Mahmūd, Sultan, of Ghaznah, 15.  
 Mahrūbān, 63, 81, 85.  
 Malik-Shāh, Sultan, 6.  
*Mālisī*, 61.  
 Mamā ibn Namrad, Amīr, 11.  
 Māmūn, Caliph, 84.  
 Mand River, 67.  
 Mandistān, 41, 67, 82.  
 Maragh, 83.  
 Margh, for Marghzār, 71.  
 Marūst or Marvast, 25.  
 Marvdasht, 25, 28, 67, 78.  
 Māshram, 51, 65, 67, 81.  
 Masghān, 65.  
 Mashkān, meadow, 70.  
 Mashra'ah Ibrāhīmī, 79.  
 Mashra'ah Muhaffafah, 80.  
 Māsht, 78.  
 Masin River, 66.  
 Masqān, 65.  
 Maṣṣ, 33.  
 Mas'ūd, Sultan, of Ghaznah, 10.  
 Mas'ūdi Kurds, 12, 40, 75.  
 Māvdašt, 78.  
 Maybud, 20.  
 Māyīn, 23, 78.  
 Maymand, 47.  
 Maza', 85.  
 Mazra'ah, for Mashra'ah, 79, 80.  
*Milāsī*, 61.  
 Millstones, 54.  
 Minuchahr, Prince, 10.  
 Mirdasī chiefs, 15.  
 Mishkānāt, 35.  
 Miṣṣ, 33.  
 Miyān Qal'ah, 72.  
 Meadow lands, 69.  
 Mercury or Tīr, 76.  
  
 Mosque for Friday prayers, 22.  
 Muḥammad, brother of Hajjāj, Governor of Fārs, 36, 73, 84.  
 Muḥammad ibn Mamā, 12.  
 Muḥammad ibn Yahyā, 11.  
 Mūhū or Mūhād, 40.  
*Mulkī wa Kharajī*, 21.  
*Mūmiyā*, 31.  
 Mūnis, chamberlain, 85.  
 Muqtadir Caliph, 84, 85.  
 Mūr Lake, 69.  
 Mūr of Jirrah, 51, 57, 69.  
 Murayzījān, 25.  
 Murdak, 51.  
 Mushkān, 70.  
*Mushfi*, 20.  
*Mustaqīm*, 75.  
 Muzayjān, 25.  
  
 Nāband, 47, 48.  
 Nafasht Mountain, 28.  
 Nahast Masjān, 65.  
 Najīram, 49, 67, 82.  
 Namak, Buhayrah, 68.  
 Namakistān, 47.  
 Namrad ibn Yahyā, 11.  
 Nāsh Farrāsh, 10.  
 Nawbandagān or Nawbanjān, 52, 57, 64, 74, 81.  
 Nawdar, 55.  
 Nay Sābūr, 20.  
 Nāyīn, 20.  
 Nayrīz, 29, 35, 68, 80.  
 Nīm Dih, 40.  
 Nirīz, *see* Nayrīz.  
 Nīv, 61.  
 Nizām-al-Mulk, Wazīr, 10, 34.  
 Nūrābād, 76.  
  
 'Omān, 84.  
  
 Pādust, 78, 82.  
 Pahan Diz, 8, 37.  
 Palangari, 24.  
 Palms, grown in Irāhistān, 48.  
 Paradises, the four Earthly, 58.  
 Parbāk or Parbāl, 80.  
 Pasā, 32, 80.  
 Pasargadæ, *see* Cyrus, tomb of.

- Pāvdašt, 78, 82.  
 Persepolis, *see* Ištākhr.  
 Persian Gulf, 68.  
 Pharaoh's Cup, 32.  
 Pomegranates of Tihirān, 38.  
 Prison of the Wind, 27.  
 Pūdinak, 80.  
 Pulvār River, *see* Purvāb.  
 Purg, 31, 77, 80.  
 Purvāb River, 22, 28, 67, 70 (mis-  
 take, 69).  
 Purvāb village, 67.  
  
 Qādī-al-Qudāt, 14.  
*Qafiz*, 72.  
 Qal'ahā Ābūdān, 74.  
 Qālī, 22, 70.  
 Qārāh Aghāch River, 67.  
 Qariyat-al-As, 30.  
 Qariyat-al-Jamal, 79.  
 Qariyat-al-Khamīr, 78.  
*Qasīm-i-Amīr-al-Mūminīn*, 4.  
 Qassār, Band, 66.  
 Qāvurd, Amīr, 5, 18, 37.  
 Qays Island, 42, 50.  
 Qilāt Khār, *see* Khuwār.  
 Qir, 40, 67.  
 Qubād Khūrah District, 61.  
 Qudāmāh, 84.  
 Qūhistān, 20, 21.  
 Qurā-al-Asāfil, 36.  
 Quṭruḥ, 29, 80.  
 Qutulmish, Amīr, 28.  
  
 Rādān or Rādhān, 30, 79.  
 Rāhbān, 55.  
 Raisin syrup, 32.  
 Ram Island, 64.  
 Rāmānī Kurds, 9.  
 Rāmjird, 28.  
 Ramm-adh-Dhīwān or Zavān, 13,  
 43, 73, 81.  
 Ramms, Kurdish, 13.  
 Ranbah, Pass and Castle, 33, 77.  
*Raṭl*, 64.  
 Rawā-adh-Dhīwān, *see* Ramm.  
 Revenues, 83.  
 Rishahr, 62, 64.  
 Rivin, 23.  
  
 Rock-salt, coloured, 31.  
 Rūbanj, 32.  
 Rubāt Mashk, 70.  
 Rūdān, 18, 79.  
 Rūdbāl-i-Sittajān, 82.  
 Rūdbār River, 33.  
 Rukn-ad-Dawlah, *see* Khumārtagīn.  
 Rūn, 23, 70.  
 Rūniz, 32.  
 Rustaq-ar-Rustaq, 33, 80.  
*Ruzz-i-Kharājī*, 51.  
  
 Safid Qal'ah, 58, 74.  
 Šāhah (Arrajān), 79.  
 Šāhah (Bakhtigān), 24.  
 Sahārah Castle, 46, 75.  
 Šāhib 'Ādil, Wazīr, 8, 9, 46.  
*Šāhiliyyāt*, 81.  
 Šahrā-i-Rūd, 33.  
 Saljān, 54.  
 Salk, Amīr, 11.  
 Samīram, *see* Sumayram.  
 Samīrān Castle, 35, 76.  
 Sanā, 39.  
 Sarāb Bahram, 69.  
 Sārah Castle, 75.  
 Šarām, 53, 54.  
 Sarbāk, 80.  
 Sarvāt (Sarvāb), 22, 71.  
 Sarvistān (Shīrāz), 47, 68, 80.  
 Sarvistān (or Shūristān), 21.  
 Sāvīyah, 49.  
*Sāyahā*, 45.  
 Seas, 68.  
 Sha'b Bavvān, 57.  
 Shabānkārah Kurds, 9, 13, 32.  
 Shabānkārah Province, 31; modern,  
 41.  
*Shādurwān*, 66.  
 Shāhr-i-Bābak, 79.  
 Shāhrū, 49.  
 Shakānī Kurds, 13.  
*Shamāmāh*, 39.  
 Shanānā or Shanānān, 39, 40, 82.  
 Shankavān or Shakanvān Castle,  
 26, 72.  
 Shāpūr city, 50; king, 50;  
 Shāpūr-Khūrah District, 50.  
 Shāqq Rudbāl and Mīshānān, 33.

- Sheep of Mahrūbān, 63.  
 Shīb-i-Bāzār, 36.  
 Shidān, meadow, 56, 71.  
 Shikastah Castle, 26, 72.  
 Shirāz, 35-8, 68, 84, 85.  
 Shirāz, roads from, 77.  
 Shirin River, 54, 64-6.  
 Shirjān, 80.  
 Shirūyah, king, 37.  
 Shitashgān, 57.  
 Shūristān (Shūlgistān), 21, 22, 78.  
 Sif, or coast-lands, 47, 48, 81.  
 Sih Gunbadān, 26, 61, 72.  
 Sīkān meadow, 69.  
 Šimkān, 46, 67, 82.  
 Simtakht, 54, 66.  
 Siniz, 63, 64, 66, 67, 81.  
 Sirāf, 41-3, 67, 82, 84, 85.  
 Sirū, 49.  
 Sittajān District, 65.  
 Sittajān River, 81.  
 Siyāh Mil, 12, 73.  
 Solomon, tomb of mother of King,  
     70, 78.  
 Sughd, 58.  
 Sumayram, 54, 59, 61, 64, 66, 79.  
 Sūriyān, 25.  
 Surmaq, 23, 78.  
 Sūrū, 49.  
 Syphon tube, 40, 76.  
 Tab River, 61, 64, 66.  
 Taft, 83.  
 Tajāb, 79.  
 Tall-Baydā, 29, 71.  
 Tall-Gird, 53.  
 Tamirjān, 69.  
 Tang-i-Ranbah, 33.  
 Tank of 'Aḡud-ad-Dawlah, 72.  
 Tarsāni, 79.  
 Tārum, 31, 77, 80.  
 Tāsh Farrāsh, 10.  
 Tāvūnah, 50.  
 Tawwaj, 41, 81, 82.  
 Taymurjān, 69.  
 Tayyārūt, 36.  
 Thakān bridge, 61, 64.  
 Thakān River, 38, 40, 48, 65, 67,  
     Thakān village, 67.  
 Three Domes, *see* Sih Gunbadān.  
 Tihirān, 38.  
 Timāristān, 69.  
 Tīr, Mercury, 76.  
 Tīr Asjan, 79.  
 Tīrbāl, 45.  
 Tīr-i-Khudā Castle, 29, 76.  
 Tīr Māyijān, 24, 79.  
 Tīr Murdān, 53, 74.  
 Tiz, 85.  
 Tomb of Cyrus, or of mother of  
     Solomon, 70, 78.  
 Tower of Silence, 27.  
 Tūfarah Bash, or Tūmarah Bastar,  
     83.  
 Tughrul Beg, 5.  
 Tūr, 30, 79.  
 Tutty, 27.  
 Tūzi, 55.  
 Two Domes, 52.  
 Ūjān, 78.  
 'Umārah coast, 48.  
 Ūrd, 21, 69.  
 Urjān, 23.  
 Urkhumān, 23.  
 Ūsbanjān, 47.  
 'Uthmanlū Castle, 76.  
 Uzjān, 23.  
 Vishtasf, 12, 73.  
 Wayshkān, 34.  
 White Castle, *see* Safid Qal'ah.  
 Yazd, 20, 83.  
 Yazdajird, king, 37.  
 Yazdikhwāst, 22, 78.  
 Zāb, 79.  
 Zamm, *see* Ramm.  
 Zand Avesta, 28.  
 Zarqān, 78, 82.  
 Zaydūn, 62.  
 Zij-as-Sanjari, 7.  
 Zilū, 34.  
 Zīr or Ziz, 54, 58.  
 Zoroaster, 28.

